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RAMSEY AND DRAPER VS. BANCROFT: HISTORY FOR THE COMMON MAN*

By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

The Study of History is a basic culture trait of western man. There are parts of the world where History—the concept that the present has evolved from the past—is unknown and not understood. The Orient lies in the grip of the past, but has no concept of cause and effect relationships between events in the past. What has happened to India, to the Near East, and to Egypt is a series of catastrophes—without apparent meaning in terms of the evolution of institutions—and without any realization of cause and effect relationships. Western culture, on the other hand, presupposes a doctrine of progress, of evolution, of movement in which the roots of the present are to be found in the past. Throughout the western world, men look to the past for its lessons and seek for guidance from past experience. Western man is history-conscious, and conscious of himself as a product of historical forces. He studies history in order to understand his own roots in the past.

Of all men of the western culture, the Americans are the most history-conscious, and every man in America has, comparatively, an enormous amount of information about the American past. Books on history exceed, annually, the books on any other non-fiction subject except religion. Everywhere there are shrines, monuments, parks, and markers denoting historical sites and commemorating the deeds and men of the American past. State and local societies exist everywhere, and their memberships run into the thousands. There are historical clubs, Civil War Round Tables, Corralls of Westerners, Lincoln Fellowships, and honorary historical fraternities in the colleges. There are Junior Historical Societies with programs that enroll children by the thousands. The newspapers are full of history, the politicians appeal to history for justification of their deeds and their promises, and sometimes even count the votes of the dead at unwatched polling places.

*Adapted from an address delivered at the annual reception of the East Tennessee Historical Society, in Knoxville, October 1, 1960.

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Movies and television devote time to history, base their stories on historical situations. Sermons are filled with historical allusions and historical exposition. History is an integral part of American life and culture, and the archæologist who digs up the kitchen-middens of America twenty or thirty centuries from now will probably classify us as a nation of ancestor-worshippers.

The motives for the study of history are many and various. There are those who study history in order to determine national policy, and derive lessons—or at least rhetorical arguments—from the experience of the nation. There are those who study history in order to determine the will of God as it is revealed in the actions of His creatures. There are those who contend that the proper study of history—that is, the controlled study of history—will contribute to the maintenance of the status quo.

Two illustrations of the motives for the study of history have attracted attention in recent years. One was the multi-volumed *Study of History* by Arnold Toynbee which, digested into one volume and Luce-ly ballyhooed into a best-seller, won wide popular acclaim. The other was the curious furore created when the *New York Times* came to the conclusion that schoolchildren were abysmally ignorant of the basic facts of American history.

Arnold Toynbee is an excellent example of the historian who takes an Olympian approach to the problems of the world. From Mount Olympus, taking a god's-eye view of the world, Toynbee surveyed the earth from a great height. He saw the course of human history much as a traveller in an airplane sees geography. From a height of several thousand feet the traveller in an airplane gets a new and different perspective on the underlying terrain. He can see rivers without snags, factories without grime, cities without slums. From the air—as from Mount Olympus—the earth looks platted, designed, and the air traveller can feel himself closer to heaven than to earth. Toynbee, for all his assertion that he is a middle-class Englishman, and for all his encyclopœdic erudition, is an air-borne historian. From his philosophical airplane—or seat on Olympus—he surveyed the earth at a great height, and from his elevation he distinguished nineteen "civilizations," living and dead. He, however, perceived them as existing at the same time. The 5,000 to 6,000 years in which these civilizations have existed, is,

he contended, "so infinitesimally brief a span of time compared to the age . . . of the human race" that Greece, Rome, ancient Egypt, and modern America "are one another's contemporaries indeed." In other words, Stalin, Cæsar, Napoleon, Charlemagne, Moses, and Castro are contemporaries. This philosophical concept enabled Toynbee to ignore difficulties as comfortably as air-travellers can ignore mud holes on an ox-cart road. He could strike comparisons between ancient Carthage and New Guinea, between Islamic mores and the values of China, between Lenin and Abraham. By assuming the contemporaneous existence of these civilizations, Toynbee essayed to "map out" their "births, growths, breakdowns and declines." In the end, concluded Toynbee, "the historical function of civilizations is to serve, by their downfalls, as stepping stones to a progressive process of revelation of always deeper religious insight."

This, of course, is religious determinism. With its theological conclusions, it can come with gentle admonitions, genial optimism, and glowing promises of salvation. To those who study history for religious solace, the works of Toynbee, and in fact, of the philosophers, brings affirmation of the eternal verities. To others, of course, it may appear only as an intellectual soporific.

Somewhat different motives were revealed, almost two decades ago, when an intramural fight in Columbia University—between the College and Teachers College—alerted the *New York Times* to the neglect of American history in the curriculum of the schools. The *Times* sponsored a widely advertised test which proved, to no one's surprise, that college freshmen were ignorant. The cause immediately attracted attention, and sundry wordy pugilists—editorial writers, columnists, and voice-of-the-people pundits—climbed into the ring. Inevitably, the more excitable neurotics began to search for the influence of fascists, communists, isolationists, interventionists, and other conspirators. Unfortunately for the publicity value of the contest, there were no conspirators. The furore did reveal, however, the widespread concern with history. However misdirected it was, it gave emphasis to the American interest in history, and to the American belief that history is important. Religious motives, as illustrated by Toynbee, and even patriotic motives as illustrated by the Columbia University-*New York Times* furore have never been far removed or long absent from the

study of history. They only serve to illustrate and to underscore this basic cultural trait—and men come into the study of history for still other reasons.

In the nineteenth century, three historians illustrated this culture trait, and made distinctive contributions to different phases of the American heritage. One of them was a nationalist, another was a regionalist, while a third was a democrat. In a sense, they represented three different traditions which have entered into the American story. George Bancroft wrote nationalist history and led a school of national historians. In his approach to history, as well as to public affairs, he gave voice to a tradition of stewardship, or trusteeship, which was as old as the Puritan Revolution and found its expression in the theocratic founders of New England. In contrast to Bancroft, stood Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey of Tennessee and Lyman Draper of Wisconsin. Dr. Ramsey was a student of a region where the tradition of the squire, spiritual descendant of the manorial lords of England, held sway. Lyman Draper approached the study of history from the tradition of the sturdy yeomanry of England and the democrat of America. Each of these historians sought, even as the present-day student of history seeks, for roots and for the identification of himself with the historic past. Out of the work of each there came fruits.

George Bancroft was a theologian turned historian. His subject was the American Revolution and the Constitution, and he brought to his writing on American history a divinely inspired vision which gave form to his history and determined its content. He developed in an atmosphere dominated by the tradition of the trustees—by those who believed that the Creator had elected some men for salvation, and that it was the duty of those men, who were trustees of the Lord, to erect a society which would glorify God. As a trustee, Bancroft found, essentially, that the Americans were a new chosen people—that they had been "elected" to demonstrate, and to lead the world to, the perfect government and the perfect society. His synthesis came out of his traditions—it was, in fact, an exposition of the Divine Plan for the Ages.

Bancroft was a national historian—and with the tradition of the trustees as his guiding star, he found the materials for his history in the national sources, in the public documents, in the formal apologetics, and in the public speeches by which great national leaders rationalized

their deeds. Bancroft came to the writing of history with a preconception of national greatness, and with a commitment to guide the nation into the paths of righteousness. He wrote his history to prove his point. He was committed, as well, to a political party and program. He was sure that God's instrument—or at least the instrument provided to the trustees in advancing the work of the Lord—was the Democratic party. He was a holder of public office, an advisor of politicians, a maker of public policy. He was a nationalist in his history, and a national-imperialist in his politics. He was James K. Polk's Secretary of the Navy, and a leading promoter of the War with Mexico. His volumes, one after the other, "voted for Jackson" and reflected his adherence to the traditions of the trustees, his nationalism, and his partisanship.

In contrast with Bancroft's nationalism, other historians sought for the roots of American greatness in the soil of the American people, in the regions, and in the democratic experiences of the common man. Dr. Ramsey and Lyman Draper were no less patriotic than Bancroft, but they found the basis for their patriotism in the American experience rather than in a Divine Plan for the predestined trustees to follow. They found democratic government born in the town meeting, and equality springing from the struggles of the pioneers. Dr. Ramsey found an aristocracy of worth, of civic service, evolving from moral character. Draper praised the services and adventures of the common man.

Dr. Ramsey's history sprang from the tradition of the squires, of gentlemen with a duty to preserve culture, to maintain orderly government, to work for the betterment of his people—his family, his neighbors, and his community. He defined his duty as "Patriotism," and he demonstrated his concept of patriotism in his community services. He studied and practiced medicine; he worked for the improvement of the Tennessee River; he promoted and built a railroad to connect East Tennessee to the Atlantic Ocean. He presided over the affairs of a bank. He fulfilled the full duty of a squire—a gentleman of public and private virtue, of civic responsibility. His responsibility extended as well to the promotion of education and culture in his community. At Mecklenburg, his home near Knoxville, he gathered a library of 4,000 volumes. He collected manuscripts and the documents of early Tennessee history. He mantained a school; he served on the boards of trustees for colleges. He raised his family in the traditions of the squire. He surrounded his

eleven children with books and learning, sent them to college, helped establish them in law and business and politics.

Dr. Ramsey's history illustrated his pride in his family and in these associates. The Scotch-Irish Alexanders and Ramseys who had settled western North Carolina and Tennessee had had integrity, a zest for learning, a sturdy devotion to liberty. They had, he believed, made the Watauga Association, the state of Franklin, and the state of Tennessee. They had adopted the Mecklenburg Resolves before the Continental Congress declared American independence from Britain. He wrote the *Annals of Tennessee* in a patriotic and civic pride in his ancestors, seeking to glorify their deeds. In contrast to Bancroft's nationalism, Dr. Ramsey sought for the roots of history in the region. He saw the region as self-contained, developing its own integrity, possessing its own distinctive characteristics. Out of this concept came his devotion to the region, to his state, and to his section. He was a Democrat in politics, finding his models in other men of the squire tradition—Jefferson, Jackson, and Calhoun. He believed in the rights of the states—not only as a constitutional theory, but also as a substantive thing. He was president of the Knoxville branch of the Bank of Tennessee. The state of Tennessee issued the bonds to the railroad he promoted. He understood the meaning of states rights in substantive terms, and when the Civil War came, Dr. Ramsey went with his state and his section. His belief in the integrity of the region led him to serve the Confederacy as a treasury agent.

In October, 1844, Dr. Ramsey met Lyman Copeland Draper, who was making a brief visit to Knoxville. Young Draper was just past his thirtieth birthday and already he had attracted attention along the old frontier of the Appalachians for his diligence in gathering historical information. He had been for some months, mostly in southwestern Virginia, gathering material when he made a hurried trip to East Tennessee to look at the papers of General William Cocke in Rutledge, interview Major John Sevier in Greeneville, and spend an evening with Dr. Ramsey in the library of Mecklenburg. From the time of his visit to Dr. Ramsey's death in 1881, the two historians kept in touch with one another, consulted on their problems, gave each other encouragement, and exchanged information.

Lyman Draper came from a different background than Dr. Ramsey, and, in truth, represented a different tradition in the American heritage. Draper was a product of western New York, a region which was close to the frontier. His father had been a soldier in the War of 1812, and his father's father had been in the New Hampshire militia during the American Revolution. Both his father and his grandfather had been farmers, frontiersmen, pioneers into new land. They represented, in fact, the American version of the sturdy yeomanry who loomed large in British legend. They were embodiments of the yeoman tradition in America—a tradition of sturdy independence, of belief in themselves and in their own capacity for judgment, for self government, for solving the problems of society.

In his boyhood Lyman Draper listened to his father and his neighbors telling tales of the wars against England, telling stories of the local heroes who had fought the Indians, recounting the yarns of derring-do on the American frontier. But when he came to read the histories of the time—the nationalist histories—he found that the deeds and the sacrifices of the common soldiers were not mentioned. There were accounts of generals, of governors, of political and military leaders, but nothing of his grandfather and his neighbors who had been local minute-men, or of his father who had spent time in a Canadian prison as a prisoner of war. America, in Draper's boyhood, was becoming great, but the pioneers who had conquered the western wilderness found no place in the nationalist histories. Early, Draper planned to set the record straight —"to rescue from oblivion" the deeds of the men who had won independence and marked the pathways into the West. He was, in fact, no less religious than Bancroft—perhaps, indeed, his personal piety and his humility were greater—but even his religion led him to determine that he had a "mission" to set the historical record straight. He planned to write a book of Sketches of the Lives of the Pioneers—with accounts of George Rogers Clark, Simon Kenton, Samuel Brant, Thomas Sumter, and Daniel Boone—which would give them their rightful place in history.

But when he came to search for materials, he found that they were not collected. The nationalist documents gave him little help. The public speeches, the laws, the constitutions, and the formal documents of the national archives contained little about the people who had made

the nation great. Bancroft could write history, great national history, from the formal documents, but Draper had to find his own sources. He began to interview veterans of the Revolution and of the Indian Wars of the Old Border. He collected letters and lore from their descendants. He travelled, in the course of forty years of collecting, 60,000 miles—by horse, and stage coach, afoot, and later by rail. And in the end he gathered the greatest collection of personal, non-official papers in America. Within his collection there was the material for scores of books, hundreds of essays—and the base for a school of historical interpretation.

In 1852 Draper moved to the infant state of Wisconsin. There he reorganized the state historical society, became its corresponding secretary, built it into a model society, published successive volumes of "Collections" of Wisconsin material, and stimulated the study of history in the wilderness. He found a library of 50 volumes. By the time he retired, in 1886, he had built a library of over 100,000 volumes and made it into one of the great historical libraries in the world.

His concept of history was no narrow one. History, he said, meant "man in all his social relations, political, commercial, religious, moral and literary—including, therefore, everything which acts upon men, and its object is to represent with truth and clearness the relations in which man exists." However preoccupied he might have been in his own research with establishing the minutia of the Border Wars, he demanded that the "records of the past must be the lesson for the present," and he proposed to treasure the achievements of the pioneer heroes who had "hewn down with dauntless heart and sturdy arms the trackless forest," and to gather, as well, the records of those "adventurous companies who planned and executed the noble improvements" in Wisconsin. In his library he wanted full information on the "germs and up-springings of those principles which lie at the base of our Social System," of "the religious, literary, and humanitarian institutions," of manufacturing, of agriculture, and of mineral resources. In a day when history was largely confined to political affairs and to Drum and Trumpet recitations of martial prowess, Draper was calling for what, in another century, would be hailed as "the New History."

Like Dr. Ramsey, Lyman Draper was a Democrat and an active politician, but while Dr. Ramsey, as became a squire, admired Jackson,

Calhoun, and Polk, Draper was a supporter of Martin Van Buren and the loco-foco element in the Democracy. He opposed the Mexican War which his fellow historian Bancroft promoted and partly directed. Like Dr. Ramsey, he opposed the nationalizing influences within his own party, and he was bitter about the Black Republicans with their disregard for states rights. He refrained from voting in 1860, and supported McClellan in 1864.

A common political interest brought Draper and Dr. Ramsey to their second meeting in 1848. The Tennessean was a delegate to the Democratic Nominating Convention which met in Baltimore where Draper was living. There Draper displayed to Dr. Ramsey his collections of historical material, and the two men consulted one another on the details of publishing their contemplated books. They never met again, but they continued to correspond and to exchange information on the history of Tennessee. Dr. Ramsey's admiration of Draper continued to grow.

Already, before their second meeting, Ramsey had proposed that Draper join him as co-author of the *Annals of Tennessee.* The good doctor's judgment was bad. Draper was notorious for his inability to get his proposed writing done. Fortunately, Draper declined the offer. Their good relations continued, however. Just after Draper moved to Wisconsin, Dr. Ramsey went to Charleston to supervise the publication of his *Annals.* He consulted Draper on the contents of the book, on the illustrations, on the format. He discussed points at issue between them, and made corrections which Draper suggested down to the very eve of going to press. Thereafter, he waited anxiously for Draper's opinion of the book, and was delighted when his correspondent sent him an almost page-by-page discussion.

For several years thereafter, Dr. Ramsey hoped to get Draper to migrate to Tennessee. When Draper sent Ramsey the first volume of the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the doctor admired it and promised to use it as a model for his own society in Tennessee. In 1857 Draper became for one term state superintendent of public instruction in Wisconsin, and Dr. Ramsey was ecstatic in his praise of Draper's school report. He wrote to a Nashville paper praising Draper and suggesting that the legislature invite Draper to move to Tennessee as superintendent of schools. When Draper lost his office in the next

election and a Black Republican took his place, Ramsey urged him to shake the dust of Wisconsin off his shoes and leave the state to its own fanaticism. He urged Governor Isham Harris to bring Draper to Tennessee.

It makes an interesting speculation how different the history of the world might have been had Dr. Ramsey been successful in his efforts. Draper, who had ample reason for being piqued in Wisconsin, would have arrived in Tennessee on the very eve of the Civil War. He would have brought, as Dr. Ramsey suggested, his papers with him—and the result would have been disastrous. The war took Dr. Ramsey away from Knoxville and from East Tennessee. His fortune was dissipated, his family dispersed and broken. Worst of all, his home, Mecklenburg, was burned and all of his manuscripts—the rich collections which he had been making of the early history of his region—went up in flames. Fortunately, Draper did not come to Tennessee. Here his collections might have been destroyed. Fortunately, too, through his long correspondence with Dr. Ramsey, Draper was able to save much of the history of Tennessee from the ravages of war. He had the letters, the reminiscences, the memories of Dr. Ramsey in his own collection, and much material for the early history of Tennessee remained intact.

In the years that followed the Civil War, Dr. Ramsey continued to correspond with Lyman Draper. The world of Dr. Ramsey had been destroyed along with his books and manuscripts—and there was gone from the East Tennessee scene much of the tradition of the gentlemen squires with their patriotism, their sense of civic responsibility, their devotion to public and private virtue. But Dr. Ramsey lived on to make more contributions to history. He wrote to Draper, and now he drew upon his memory—the memory of the things he had heard, of the things that he had once had in his library—to supplement the collections that Draper had made. He tried to revive the Tennessee Historical Society, tried to get it to imitate Draper's thriving Wisconsin Society. And he had one success—he succeeded in getting Draper to write one book. The one book which Draper wrote out of his vast collections was *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*—and the credit for getting Draper to write belongs to Dr. Ramsey.

The book summed up Draper's conception of history and of American democracy. The American people—the common men of the

frontier—were the true sources of American greatness. Here, at King's Mountain, came all the finest in the American heritage. The men of the mountains rallied at the news of danger—organized themselves under their natural leaders, and went forth. Their success demonstrated the superiority of the common men. They were, said Draper, "somewhat of the character of Cromwell's soldiery." They were Presbyterians, tenacious of their religious and civil liberties. They were patriotic, inured to frontier hardships—indeed, "a remarkable body of men, both physically and mentally." And they hurled back the disciplined minions of the British monarch. The lesson, of course, was implicit in the story: American democracy was superior to the tyrannical system of Great Britain—and the American system rested securely upon the yeomen of the land.

Dr. Ramsey could have agreed with Draper's conclusions about the roots of American democracy—though he would probably have added that the yeomanry needed the leadership which the squires could provide. Both of them stood in contrast to the nationalist Bancroft of the trustee tradition. The gap was, in fact, an enormous one. Bancroft was an intellectual democrat. He was a Boston Brahmin, albeit one in rebellion, with no understanding of the emotions which made Dr. Ramsey a Presbyterian in his religion, a gentleman in his relations with his fellow man, and a squire who assumed an obligation to raise the intellectual standards of his people, to serve his community, and to seek to maintain the integrity of his region. Nor could he grasp the emotions which made the frontier-born Draper a loco-foco in politics, a Baptist in religion, and a historian who found the democratic roots of America in the sturdy independence of the yeomanry. Once Draper asked Bancroft for information about Lord Dunmore's war. Such a question directed at Dr. Ramsey brought out details, careful consideration of conflicting accounts, and the willing loan of materials. But Bancroft patronizingly told Draper to read Force's *Documentary History,* study the newspapers of old Williamsburg, and consult the archives of England.

The differences in approach and viewpoint of these three nineteenth century historians found their expression long before the study of history became an academic subject, and so-called scientific history began in the universities. But even when history entered the curriculum and

the seminars of the graduate schools organized and systematized its study, the different approaches to the basic problems of American history remained. Newer historians, boasting Ph.D.'s first from German universities then from American graduate schools, applied the same critical methods of Lyman Draper and Dr. Ramsey. They carefully collected the facts, critically compared accounts of past events, and sought to evaluate the evidence objectively. The study of history might, indeed, have been no different had it been left to the historical societies and to individual workers. Fundamentally, the study of history is a culture trait of western civilization, and its imprisonment within academic walls is an accident and a convenience. It would have been pursued—as, in fact, it has always been pursued—outside as well as inside the towers of ivy.

The fruits of the study of history have been many. The spiritual descendants of Bancroft have continued to examine the national past in the light of the trustee tradition. Although the vocabulary has changed, and they no longer talk of stewardship and the obligation of the elect to order society for the glorification of God, they continue to assert that America is a chosen land, and that the possessors of power, or wealth, or talents must impose a righteous conformity not only on America but upon the world.

The spiritual descendants of Lyman Draper have been many, and the fruits of his work were to be found in Wisconsin within two decades of his death. By the end of Draper's life, Wisconsin—even like the South—had become a victim of a national system of exploitation. The state had been stripped by lumber companies and gouged by railroads. The national banking system had drained the wealth from the rural regions. A movement of protest found expression in a Granger movement and then in a Populist party. In Wisconsin, where neither Grangers nor Populists were strong, the movement of protest came out of the University. To the faculty of the University came a number of young scholars, trained in new methods of research which were, upon analysis, only those which Lyman Draper had practiced. Wisconsin had the great library which Draper had built—a library that contained not only the records of the heroic pioneers, but also those of the moral, religious, political, and literary institutions of mankind. It was a research library, well adapted for the studies of newer social scientists. Among them was

Frederick Jackson Turner, who directed his studies, even as Draper had done, into the story of the frontier. Draper had set a climate of opinion, and had provided the materials for study. Turner found that the methods of settling the frontier cast a real light on the development of democracy in America, and that American democracy was not the result of philosophical speculations by men of the trustee tradition, but the product of the long struggle of the common man against the lords of society. Turner was laying the historical and philosophical basis for a movement of social reform. Others among the social scientists were John R. Commons and Richard T. Ely, calling themselves economists, but infused with the spirit of historical scholarship.

At the feet of these men, building upon the foundation which Lyman Draper had laid, sat Robert M. LaFollette. He took the findings of the University's scholars and made them into a program of political reform. He took their abstract and scholarly conclusions and translated them into the language of the political stump. With fiery oratory he injected drama into statistical tables, and added evangelical fervor to academic conclusions. Above all, he educated an electorate, giving men a critical technique with which to judge—and he brought the results of scholarship to bear on the problems of society. Elected to the governorship, he began a "progressive" era which was characterized by an experimental approach, careful training and research into problems, and a devotion to the processes of democracy. It was a wedding of the soil of Populism with the seminars of the social scientists—a wedding that was made possible only by the great research library that Lyman Draper had built, and by the basic historical concepts that he exemplified.

Perhaps, indeed, the historical concepts of Dr. Ramsey have not been as pervasive as those of George Bancroft and Lyman Draper. The trustee concept of Bancroft has permeated the American government and given color to American foreign relations. The "Wisconsin Idea" which rested upon Draper's concepts and upon his handiwork had an influence upon the political and social institutions of the land. But Dr. Ramsey's world suffered a severe setback with the destruction of Mecklenburg and the society which it represented. Yet there were merits in that world, in the squire's approach to society, in his concepts of history. Dr. Ramsey believed in the integrity of the region—and in a land which

is confronted by myriad forces imposing a cultural integration on all its people, there is a need for the reassertion of regional differences, and for a re-evaluation of the contributions which the regions have made. Dr. Ramsey believed, too, in a "patriotism" which placed an emphasis on community service, upon an individual's responsibility for the well-being of his neighbors, the possession and display of both public and private virtue.

We are a history-conscious people, seeking to understand the present by studying our roots in the past. The tourists at the national monuments, the battlefields and the museums, the readers of books, the members of historical clubs are all motivated by a desire to identify themselves with the past. They should not be allowed to forget the values, individual and social, of the tradition of the Squires. Dr. Ramsey and his kind are parts of the American heritage. They have much to say to the man of today.

THE VIRGINIA-CHEROKEE BOUNDARY OF 1771

An example of the importance of maps in the interpretation of history.

By Louis De Vorsey, Jr.

In the Journal of the Proceedings at Hard Labor in 1768, Chief Ouconnastotah (Oconostota) concluded:

> The land is now divided for the use of the red and white people and I hope the white inhabitants of the Frontiers will pay great attention to the line marked and agreed upon.[1]

This division was made in the form of a line upon a map. That the white inhabitants of the frontier often ignored such lines is a sad fact of American history. That the historian has also been guilty of ignoring or misunderstanding these lines is an equally sad fact. This paper is intended to illustrate how the interpretation of one important incident in the history of colonial America was seriously in error due to the lack of a consideration of available contemporaneous cartographic evidence. Eighteenth century maps will be used to clarify the events surrounding the Virginia-Cherokee boundary settlement of 1771, which have so often been misunderstood.

The decade following Pontiac's Rebellion and the Proclamation of 1763 was one of conflict between British Crown interests, which were attempting to contain the colonies and establish an Indian reserve in the West, and the American colonists, many of whom were striving for a continued expansion to the westward. The inadequacies of the watershed boundary as proclaimed in 1763 were not long becoming obvious to leaders on both sides of the Atlantic. Cogent arguments have been presented showing that the Proclamation was of a very tentative character and designed only to meet the exigencies of the moment.[2] Unfortunately, relations between the American colonies and England were severely strained for a long period in overcoming the mistakes in this hastily prepared document.

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[1] C.O.5-70, p. (or folio) 77, Colonial Office Papers (Public Record Office, London).
[2] Clarence Walworth Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (Lansing), XXXVI (1908), 20-52.

George Washington voiced a prevalent colonial attitude when he wrote of the Proclamation:

> . . . for I can never look upon that Proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians and must fall of course in a few years especially when these Indians are consenting to our occupying the lands. Any person therefore who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for their own (in order to keep others from settling them) will never regain it. . . .[3]

In accordance with the opinion of the Lords of Trade, who wrote, "there should be one general line of separation united in all its parts,"[4] there were a number of agreements concluded between the colonies and the Indians toward this end. The superintendents of the two Indian departments, William Johnson in the northern and John Stuart in the southern, acted as agents for the Crown and were instrumental in arranging and conducting these conferences.

John Stuart met with the Cherokee Indians at Hard Labor in October of 1768 in order to ratify the boundary line between that tribe and the southern colonies. At this meeting he obtained the Indians' agreement to the continuation of this line north from Chiswell's Mine (near the present Wytheville) in a straight line to the mouth of the Great Kanawha on the Ohio River.[5] Map No. 1 illustrates this line.

Virginia had traditionally maintained a claim to the land west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and resisted the establishment of boundaries liable to negate this claim. However, opinion was not universally in favor of unlimited expansion to the westward. An address by the Virginia Council which was agreed upon and read, stated:

> . . . the horrid barbarities and unheard of cruelties that were committed upon many of the frontier inhabitants, in the course of the last Indian war, are so recent in our memories, that we shall be ready to adopt every proper measure to avert the like calamities for the future. . . .[6]

That these leaders of Virginia held such strong views on the necessity of "peace and tranquility with the Indians" in March of 1768 indicates that the rapid expansionists were not entirely in control. In spite of the conflict of interest within Virginia, subsequent events make

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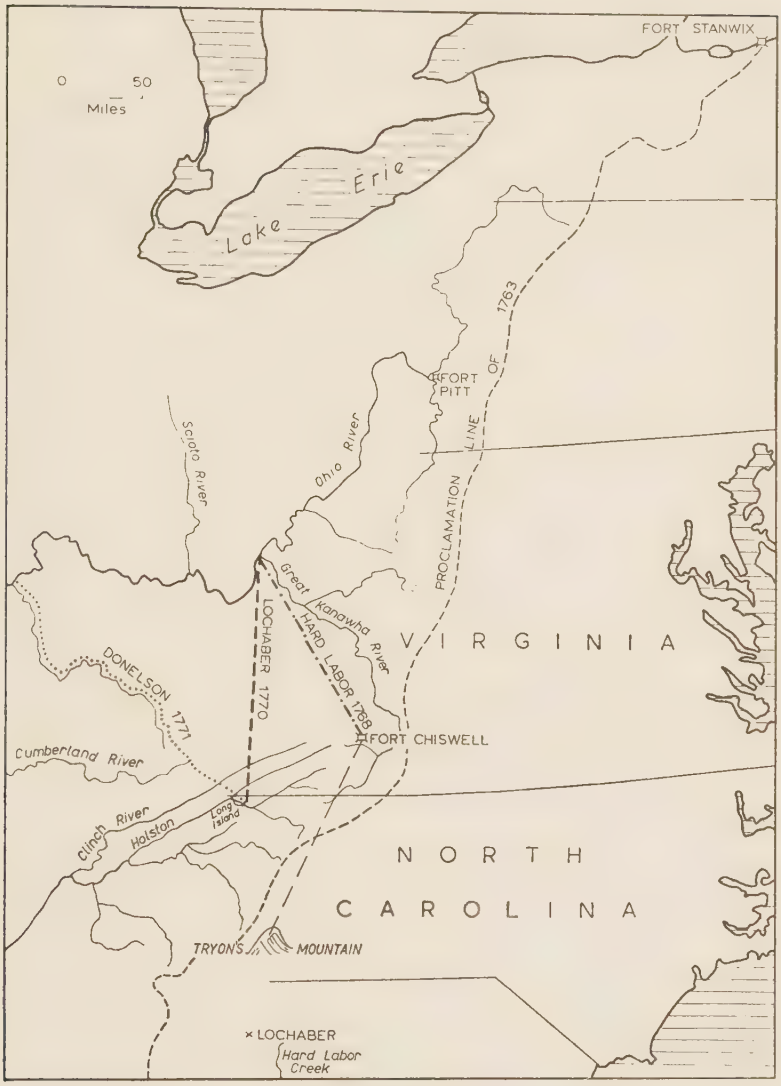
[3] Washington to William Crawford, September 21, 1767, in C. W. Butterfield (ed.), *The Washington-Crawford Letters* (Cincinnati, 1877), 220.

[4] C.O.5-70, p. 77.

[5] C.O.5-70, p. 77; H. R. McIlwaine and John P. Kennedy (eds.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 1619-1776, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1905-1915), *1766-1769,* xxvii. The river is now called Kanawha.

[6] C.O.5-1435, p. 204.



Map No. 1

Map showing the Proclamation Line of 1763 with the subsequent Virginia-Cherokee boundary lines. Based on a map in James Truslow Adams, *Atlas of American History,* Plate 60. As is explained in the text, the Hard Labor and Lochaber lines were never surveyed as Donelson's was. The extent of the area involved is clearly shown.

it safe to conclude that the strongest elements in the colony's leadership were either pro-expansion or prone to a passive acceptance of the expansionists' desires. The appointment of Dr. Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis (two of the most important grantees of lands beyond the

mountains) as the commissioners for fixing a boundary with the Cherokee speaks eloquently for the influence of the land speculators and expansionists.[7]

Stuart's agreement with the Cherokee at Hard Labor did not please the Virginians, as might be expected from a consideration of the accompanying map, No. 1, which shows the position of the proposed Hard Labor line. The Virginia House of Burgesses appealed for a boundary based upon a due westward extension of the Virginia-North Carolina boundary, which they proposed to be continued until it intersected the Ohio River.[8]

Superintendent Stuart was quick to inform the Virginians of their poor knowledge of geography. In his letter to the governor, Lord Botetourt, he wrote, "A continuation of the Line dividing your Colony and North Carolina . . . in a due Western course [underlining Stuart's], can never touch the Ohio."[9] A full year before this appeal from the Burgesses for an unrestricted western extension Governor Botetourt wrote the following in a letter to Walker and Lewis:

> You will observe that what I and the Council have chiefly in view from this Negotiation with Mr Stuart is, to get the period of meeting the Cherokees upon this business, still further protracted so that we may have time fully to state this whole matter to His Majesty and His Ministers, in order to get the Boundary extended to the Cherokee River.[10]

From this it might be implied that the memorial of the House of Burgesses should have read the Cherokee (Tennessee) River instead of the Ohio. This is of minor importance since Stuart's arguments against the Virginia proposals were so strong that the Virginians were obliged to drastically alter their proposal.[11] On June 15, 1770, a committee of the House of Burgesses which had been considering the question of an Indian boundary offered a resolution in which Virginia retreated from her earlier wishes and urged a hasty settlement of a line extended as far west as the Holston River and thence north to the mouth of the

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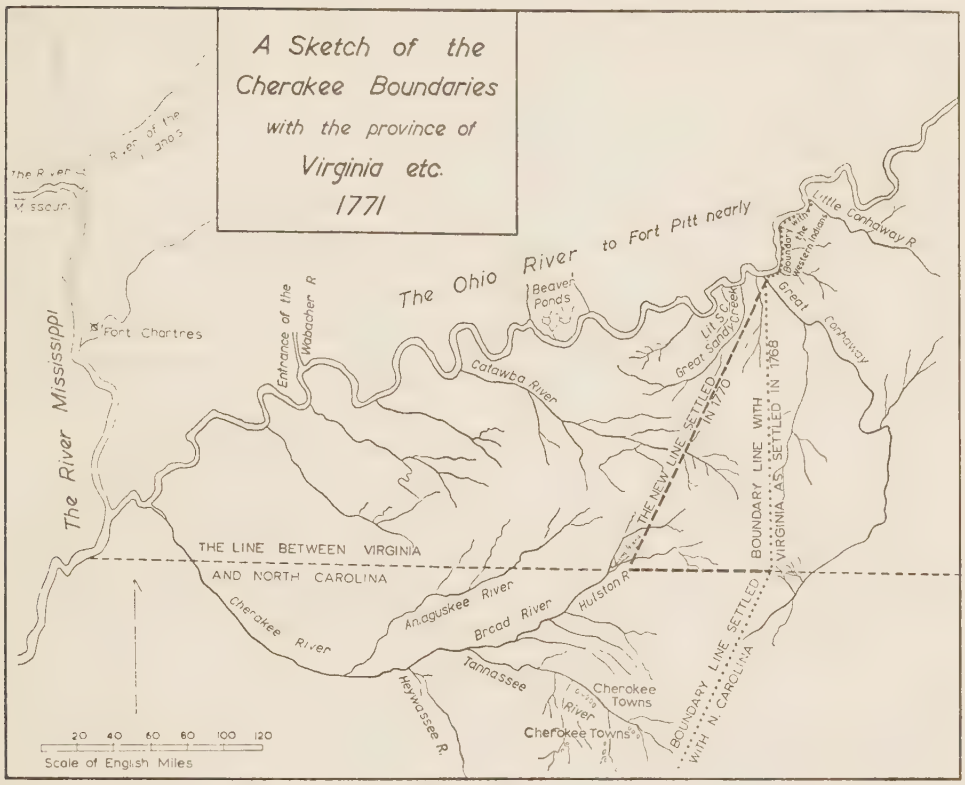
[7] Thomas P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, 1937), 63; C.O.5-1435, p. 192. It should be noted, however, that Walker and Lewis were not at Lochaber when the boundary line was agreed upon there. The reader should consult the views of John Richard Alden in his *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 279, on this point.

[8] *Journals of the House of Burgesses . . . 1766-1769,* p. 335.

[9] *Ibid., 1770-1772,* xi.

[10] *Ibid., 1766-1779,* xxxii.

[11] *Ibid., 1770-1772,* xi-xii.


A Sketch of the Cherokee Boundaries with the province of Virginia etc. 1771
The River Mississippi
Fort Chartres
Entrance of the Wabachen R
The Ohio River to Fort Pitt nearly
Beaver Ponds
Little Canhaway R
Great Canhaway
Great Sandy Creek
Catawba River
THE NEW LINE SETTLED IN 1770
BOUNDARY LINE WITH VIRGINIA AS SETTLED IN 1768
THE LINE BETWEEN VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA
Cherokee River
Anaguskee River
Broad River
Hulston R
Tannassee
Heywassee R.
Cherokee Towns
BOUNDARY LINE SETTLED WITH N. CAROLINA
20 40 60 80 100 120
Scale of English Miles

Map No. 2

Tracing from a map by John Stuart. The original is filed as MPG 348 in the Public Record Office, London. It was forwarded by Stuart to Lord Hillsborough on September 24, 1771, obviously before he knew the results of the Donelson-Cameron survey. Note the use of the name Catawba for the Kentucky.

Great Kanawha River.[12] This extension amounted to some eighty miles on Stuart's map, No. 2, illustrating the change, so was not without significance. This shift to the west from Chiswell's Mine to the Holston River increased the area enough to embrace the settlements existing in the valley of the Holston but fell far short of the expansionists' dream.[13]

At Lochaber, South Carolina, the plantation owned by Stuart's deputy, Alexander Cameron, about a thousand Cherokee Indians under

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[12] *Ibid.,* xiii.

[13] Clarence Walworth Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1917), II, 83. Just why the Virginians agreed to this severe limitation to their previous extensive demands is not entirely clear. The most concise explanation is presented by Alden, *John Stuart,* 278-79. See also Delf Norona, "Joshua Fry's Report on the Back Settlements of Virginia (May 8, 1751)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Richmond), LVI (January, 1948), 37.

Chief Ouconnostotah met with Stuart, Cameron, and John Donelson, the representative from Virginia. This meeting, which convened on October 18, 1770, gave the Cherokee an opportunity to voice the desire of retaining the Long Island of the Holston since they feared it might be used as the site of a fort.[14] Agreement on this point was reached and the line was to run due west from where the Virginia-North Carolina boundary intersected the Hard Labor line to a point six miles above the Long Island in the South Fork of the Holston, thence north to the North Fork, and directly north to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River. This was called the Lochaber line and is shown on Map No. 1.

Thus it seemed that Virginia was at last to have a western boundary which would restrain her expansion, and all that waited was for spring and good weather to allow a party to mark the Lochaber line. Stuart wrote to Governor Botetourt from Lochaber to explain the Long Island concession and assured him that "The loss however to the Province is very inconsiderable; the small triangle that is cut off being of exceedingly poor land except upon the banks of the river."[15] In this letter Stuart went on to state that the Cherokee "proposed to run the Line after crossing Holston's River, a more westerly course than to the mouth of the Great Conhoway [Kanawha], to compensate for what they had cut off upon said River, which would have thrown in a great tract of country, but I declined accepting of it, not being authorized."[16] This conciliatory attitude of the Indians at Lochaber and the fact that they were ready to "throw in a great tract of country" may have had some bearing on what transpired when the Lochaber line came to be blazed across the hills north of the present city of Kingsport, Tennessee.

Colonel Donelson returned with the deed of cession from Lochaber and informed the Virginians of the proceedings there.[17] William Nelson, who had assumed the control of the Virginia government on the death of Governor Botetourt,[18] reported the matter to Lord Hillsborough and made a very weak appeal (if indeed it could even be

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[14] C.P.5.-1349, p. 20.

[15] *Ibid.;* Samuel C. Williams, "Fort Robinson on the Holston," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 4 (1932), 31. Williams called the Long Island fertile with attractive acres. He mentioned two very prominent frontier Indian traders as having had a serious falling out in their rivalry for a Virginia grant of the area.

[16] C.O.5-1349, p. 20.

[17] C.O.5-1349, p. 17.

[18] C.O.5-1349, pp. 153-54.

considered as such) for a more westerly extension of the line.[19] The correspondence from Virginia's acting governor to his superior, Lord Hillsborough, in London seems all the more ineffective when considered in the light of Stuart's suggestions to Governor Botetourt. Stuart wrote in his letter of October 18, 1770:

> . . . however as the line cannot be marked till May there will be sufficient time if your Lordship thinks proper to submit the matter to his Majesty and receive his orders concerning it before it can be accomplished.[20]

Lord Hillsborough wrote to Stuart on February 11, 1771, and stated that the King had much approved "the final conclusion of the boundary line between Virginia and the Cherokee country." The allowance of the Long Island and the refusal of an extension of the boundary along the Ohio were also approved. This official opinion was not available to Donelson and Cameron on the eve of the actual survey of the line with the Cherokee and as a result they had no way of knowing that Hillsborough was firmly opposed to accepting the Indians' offer of what Stuart called a "great tract of country" as compensation for the Long Island.[21]

On May 26, 1771, John Donelson led a party of surveyors and Cherokee Indians with Alexander Cameron to "Run and mark the Boundary Line between the Colony of Virginia and the Cherokee hunting grounds." The map of this boundary line as surveyed and drawn by Donelson is presented in a published form for the first time with this paper as Map No. 3. Professor John Richard Alden used a photocopy of the map in preparing his book, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier,* and called it "unquestionably authentic," as it most certainly is.[22] Unfortunately, Professor Alden did not include a copy in his excellent work.

The best description of the boundary line is the one in Donelson's own hand which is attached to the manuscript map on file at the Public Record Office, London. The transcription of this document which

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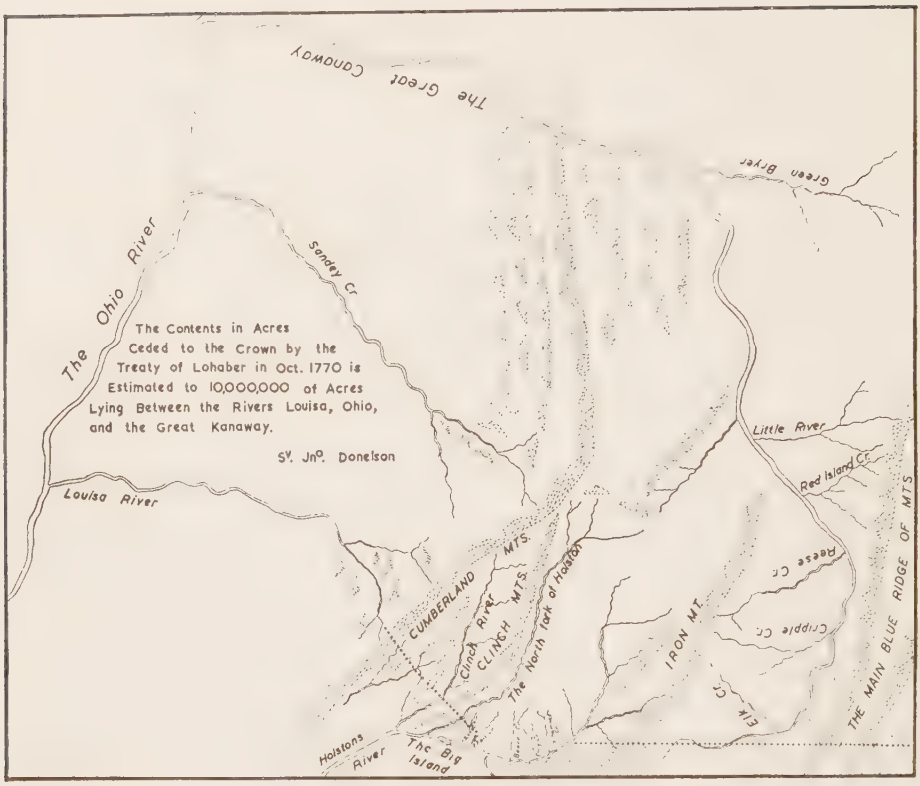
[19] The appeal is found in the letter cited in note 17 above and reads: ". . . it is a pity, that this addition to His Majesty's territory, which is so easy to be obtainid [*sic*], should be refused." See also Alden, *John Stuart,* 282-83.

[20] C.O.5-1349, p. 20.

[21] Alden, *John Stuart,* 283.

[22] *Ibid.,* 284n. The first deviation from the Lochaber line was the following of the "meanders" of the South Fork of the Holston instead of continuing the line due west to a point on that river six miles above the Long Island. This was to accommodate settlers west of the South Fork. *Ibid.,* 283.



Map No. 3

John Donelson's map of the 1771 line. The parchment original is catalogued in the Public Record Office, London, as C.O. MAPS 700 Virginia 19. The facsimile above is greatly reduced, necessitating an overlay with more readable print. Although confusing, the inverted position of the names of several watercourses has been retained in the interest of authenticity. Crown copyright; reproduced with the permission of the controller of H. M. Stationery Office.

follows is unpublished Crown Copyright material in the Public Record Office and has been reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office:

Virginia Sv.

In obedience to an Order of His Majs Honble Council on the 26th day of May 1771 did proceed to Run and mark the Boundary Line Between the Colony of Virginia and the Cherokee hunting grounds in conjunction with Alexander Cameron Esq. His Majs Superintendent and the Cherokee Chiefs Commissioned by their Nation for that purpose, Ran and Mark the Same as hereafter mentioned Viz.

Beginning at the Steep Rock on the Waters of the Great Canaway River, to which place Messrs Fry and Jefferson Extend the Colony Line & thence Extending the same in its due west Direction—24½ miles

> and 50 poles crossing the Iron Mountain To several marked trees on the South fork of Holston's River near several small islands in the same. Thence down the Stream thereof as it meanders. 30 miles to a point 6 miles above the Long Island. The[nce] N5°W 4.3/4 miles to a Red Oak markt on the top of a Ridge on Col. Byrds Road. The[nce] N36°½ W7.¾ miles Crossing the No fork of Holston's River to a point of Rocks on the top Clinch Mountain. The[nce] N.45°W 20½ miles and 32 poles crossing Clinch River the maney Sink Mountain and Powells River to the top of Powels (or the Rockey) Mountain, Thence N33°W 15½ miles crossing Cumberland Mountain to 3 Sycamore Trees Issuing from one root and several other markt trees on a Creek of Louisa River and thence down the same as it meanders to its confluence with the Ohio and thence up the said Ohio River as it meanders to the mouth of the Great Canaway Rr—
>
> By Jno Donelson Survr—

(This is a manuscript page affixed to a map of the area described Virginia C.O. 700-19, called "Plan of Boundary Between Virginia and the Cherokee.")

The stream called Louisa by Donelson in the above is the modern Kentucky River. The vast amount of controversy and misunderstanding, contemporary and modern, which has surrounded this boundary line has been caused by this place name and its application by Donelson and acceptance by John Stuart. It is not entirely clear why Donelson chose to call the Kentucky the Louisa. His map makes it clear that he was not confused or lost. Perhaps it is enough to recall that geographical knowledge of the area west of the Blue Ridge was vague and fragmentary at best throughout the eighteenth century. Donelson is surely guilty of confusing many of his contemporaries as well as many later students of history, but there seems to be little evidence available to prove that any pecuniary or other ulterior motive inspired either him or Stuart to cause this confusion.[23] It seems advisable to assume at this point that Donelson sincerely thought that the correct name for the stream now known as the Kentucky was Louisa.

A study of the description above and the map, No. 3, makes it impossible to conclude as at least one recent scholar has, that Donelson was following faulty instruments when he blazed the line northwest to the Kentucky River rather than the Big Sandy as an alternative to the Great Kanawha.[24] Nor can one conclude that Donelson blundered because he was following the very inadequate maps of the day since it

[23] J. Stoddard Johnston, *First Explorations of Kenturky* (Louisville, 1898), 63.

[24] Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1960), 149. His mention of the Big Sandy indicates that he was confused by Alvord's account, mentioned below.

is clear that he travelled the ground and mapped the area as it was. The weight of evidence indicates that the Cherokee members of the surveying party, led by Attakullakulla, either suggested an alteration of the line to the westward or readily accepted it at Donelson's urging. We can assume that Donelson was promoting Virginia's interests throughout the negotiations and survey and would not have hesitated at securing any increase in territory.[25]

Both Professor Clarence W. Alvord and Professor Thomas P. Abernethy have presented accounts of the Virginia-Cherokee boundary line of 1771 without a knowledge of the contents of John Donelson's map and survey.[26] After stating that a careful search was made for the map, which was presumed lost, Professor Alvord proceeded to theorize that Donelson must have run the line north from the Holston to the Louisa (Levisa) fork of the Big Sandy River and down that stream to the Ohio about 140 miles east of the Kentucky (or Louisa as Donelson and Stuart called it). He proceeded from this premise to state that the supposed error of calling the Kentucky the Louisa and claiming it to be the boundary was the responsibility of John Stuart. He intimated rather strongly that Stuart had deliberately manipulated this change of identity in order to shift the boundary 140 miles west so as to benefit the Virginia land speculators, the Grand Ohio Company, or that group of speculators headed by Judge Richard Henderson.

Professor Abernethy refuted Professor Alvord's Louisa-Big Sandy thesis and presented Donelson's line correctly as running from the Holston over the Cumberland Mountains and down the Kentucky to its juncture with the Ohio.[27] In controverting Professor Alvord's thesis Professor Abernethy presented very little that can be considered as sound evidence. He based the strength of his argument on a study of "The maps commonly used at this time, Mitchel's and Evans' . . ." as well as a mention of a "Cedar River" by Cameron. As has already been

[25] In the letter transmitting Donelson's map to London, the Earl of Dunmore to the Board of Trade, March 20, 1772, C.O.5-1350, p. 27, Chief Attakullakulla is quoted as stating: "When you [Donelson] met us with our father [Stuart] at Longe [*sic*] Cane, It was then agreed that the line should run to the mouth of New River but we have altered this course a little and I hope my father as well as my people will approve of it." The New is a branch of the Kanawha, but it is obvious he meant the latter. It is significant that the chief said that the course and not the area was altered but a little. As a matter of fact the course of the line was altered by more than a little and the area included was increased by a great deal. See also Alden, *John Stuart,* 283-84.

[26] Alvord, *Mississippi Valley,* II, 85-89; Abernethy, *Western Lands,* 63-78.

[27] *Ibid.,* map on p. 65.

pointed out, Donelson surveyed the line from the Holston to the Kentucky and described and mapped it as he found it. He was not subject to the errors and ignorance of the cartographers of his day; so any arguments based on this assumption are easily challenged. Although Professor Abernethy seems to place some weight on Cameron's mention of a Cedar River, it must be noted that this is a common name designating many streams in eastern America and hardly guaranteed that Cameron was referring to a tributary of the Kentucky.

One can only speculate on how much more accurate and lucid these two accounts would have been if the authors had been able to consider the evidence contained in John Donelson's map. Professor John Richard Alden was the first historian to consider and appreciate this important map.[28] He used it successfully to defend John Stuart, whom he considered very ill-treated by both Professor Alvord and Professor Abernethy. Only amazement can be expressed when it is noted that this very eloquent bit of cartography awaited discovery and consideration by Professor Alden in 1944, since it had been fully described by Earl G. Swem as early as 1914.[29]

It seems clear and understandable that the most influential of the interested Virginians desired a boundary with the Cherokee to be as far to the westward as possible. The Cherokee attitude on the extent of their hunting grounds to the north and east is less easily uncovered since they were not wont to leave documentary records. Probably the most reliable keys to the redman's sentiments are his "Talks" and John Stuart's records on the subject. Stuart has been shown as an extremely effective agent of imperial authority in the wilderness of North America and intensely loyal to his King. Even a casual examination of the documents leads one to agree with Alden, who stated, ". . . his [Stuart's] conduct of Indian affairs in the South before the American Revolution must be regarded as a bright spot in the uneven record of British administration of the American colonies in the later eighteenth century."[30]

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[28] Alden, *John Stuart,* 284.

[29] Earl G. Swem, *Maps Relating to Virginia in the Virginia State Library and other Departments of the Commonwealth, Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library (Richmond), VII, Nos. 2 & 3 (1914), 227. Appendix A of this work is "A List of Maps of Virginia and Maryland, Copied from the M.S. Catalogue of the State Paper Office, London," and includes the following item: "19. Virginia. Plan of the Boundary between Virga. & the Cherokee Indians. J. Donelson 1771 transmitted by Lord Dunmore March 1772, No. 7. Book 12. page 11."

[30] Alden, *John Stuart,* 337.

Rather than repeat Alden's excellent arguments, the present discussion will concern an early map, either drawn by Stuart or under his supervision.

On March 9, 1764, seven years before Donelson surveyed his much debated line, John Stuart forwarded "A Report on the Indians of the Southern Department" to his superiors in London.[31] In this interesting document Stuart gave a detailed description of the location and condition of the Indian tribes in his department. A map which was included with this report has become separated and is now found in the British Museum.[32] On this map Stuart showed the Cherokee Nation and the Cherokee Hunting Ground with a blue wash which extends to the north and east short of the head streams of the Catawba River (modern Kentucky). His report described the bounds of this blue wash accurately and stated, "To the northeast their claim extends to Holstein's [Holston] River and its most northern source." It seems safe to assume that Stuart was accurately portraying the extent of the lands legitimately claimed by the Cherokee. In support of this is the information provided by Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of the Northern District, who outlined the territory of the Five Nations in 1764 as follows:

> In right of conquest they [the Five Nations] claim all the country (comprehending the Ohio) along the Great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of Kentucke River and down the same to the Ohio and the rifts . . . .[33]

It can be seen that the northeastern corner of the present state of Kentucky was here accepted as the territory of the Five Nations and that the Cherokee were perhaps extending themselves in laying claim to the area north and east of Kentucky River.[34]

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[31] C.O. 323-17, p. 459.

[32] British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 14,036 f.8. This map is described by William P. Cumming in his book, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Princeton, 1958), 234. Professor Cumming did not, however, connect Stuart's report and the map. Nor is the author of the map determined by Professor Cumming, who supposed that J. William Gerard DeBrahm, the engineer for Fort Loudoun, may have drawn it as well as the one of 1766. A comparison of the longitude of places on the 1764 map and one of Georgia drawn by DeBrahm in 1763 leads the author to concur with Professor Cumming on this matter. Whether Stuart drew the map or not is of little importance here. It is quite obvious that he used this particular map or a copy of it to illustrate his already mentioned report.

[33] C.O. 323-18, p. 99.

[34] W. Neil Franklin, "Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673-1752," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 3-21. This paper shows the early and relatively continuous nature of the trade contacts which existed between the Indians and the colony. Especially significant is the recital on page 16 of a request made in 1734 by the Cherokee for permission to settle a number of their tribe on a branch of the upper Roanoke in order to insure the uninterrupted flow of trade goods from Virginia. Virginia refused this request because the colony's leaders feared, not the proximity of the Cherokee, but rather that the Cherokee would become embroiled with the northern Indians

It is interesting to note that although no western boundary is shown for Virginia on the map of 1764 the Virginia-North Carolina boundary extends due west and even crosses the Mississippi (below the Ohio by 3 degrees of latitude). The name Virginia begins at the Great Conhaway (Kanawha) and extends eastward. Stuart seems at no time to have been of the opinion that the Cherokee had a valid claim to the area between the Great Kanawha and the Kentucky.

As early as 1763 the Cherokee were attempting to claim more than their hunting ground in the hope that they might not be molested by white hunters as far as the head springs of the Holston River.[35] This was Attakullakulla's motive when he stated, "The lands towards Virginia must not be settled nearer the Cherokee than the southward of New River."[36]

Stuart, on February 25, 1773, pointed out to the Lords of Trade that the Cherokee claim to the area between the Great Kanawha and Kentucky rivers was questionable due to ". . . the Claims of the Western Tribes to the Tract lying between Louisa [Kentucky] River and the Kenhaway [Kanawha] as their hunting Ground, upon which Subject they remained Silent untill [*sic*] the line came to be marked."[37] Throughout the correspondence between Governor Botetourt and Lord Hillsborough the Virginia governor laid great stress on the Fort Stanwix purchase as having opened the area in question to settlement.[38] Nevertheless, Stuart, as shown above, was willing to accept at Lochaber a Cherokee cession of a part of the area, and his deputy, Cameron, joined Donelson in agreeing to the cession of the remainder, as far west as the Kentucky, when the line was surveyed in 1771.

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who hunted in the region behind Virginia. See also Norona, "Joshua Fry's Report," 38. Fry specifically mentions that the Cherokee had long enjoyed an intercourse with Virginia and that they never set up any claims to lands in Virginia.

[35] C.O. 323-17, p. 447.

[36] C.O. 323-17, p. 441.

[37] C.O.5-74, p. 123.

[38] C.O.5.-1347, pp. 41 ff. By that treaty the Six Nations relinquished claim to land south of the Ohio River as far west as the mouth of the Tennessee. (Somewhat in conflict with the opinion of the author is Stuart's letter to Hillsborough, February 12, 1769 (C.O.5-70, p. 155, transcript in Lawson McGhee Library; in the P.R.O. it is now in C.O.5-227, p. 45v.): "If the purchase of the Lands to the Southwest of the Conhoway [Kanawha] from the Northern Indians, by Sir William Johnson, gives any right, it will divest the Cherokees of every foot of hunting Ground they possess beyond the Mountains. The Cherokees never acknowledged themselves to be conquerred by the Six Nations, . . . and I humbly conceive, that our disputing their title to the only Valuable Tract of hunting Ground they are possessed of, in Virtue of the purchase from the Norther Tribes, will be extremely improper." He may have been referring, however, mainly to the southwestern part of the area ceded by the Six Nations. [Editor])

One may plot Donelson's description of the boundary line of 1771 on the modern map with a degree of ease which is remarkable when the rugged terrain, equipment used, and nature of the survey are kept in mind. A study of his courses, distances, and landmarks cannot fail to convince the skeptic that Donelson was indeed describing and mapping a transit across the area shown on the Johnson City and Winston Salem map sheets. From the termination of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson's line of 1749 at Steep Rock Creek (now Laurel Creek) it runs due west to the South Fork of the Holston, and then follows that stream to a point six miles above the Long Island of the Holston River (at the modern city of Kingsport, Tennessee). Thence it runs north and then northeast to the North Fork and on across the mountains to the Kentucky.[39] A certain vagueness in both Donelson's map and description can hardly be surprising or detracting in view of the circumstances already mentioned. One must conclude, with Professor Alden, that the map is authentic and the Kentucky River (Louisa on the map) was the boundary established by Donelson. Needless to say, there were no maps extant at the time of the survey which even began to approach the detail as to direction and distance which were provided by Donelson in his draught of the area.

A more nearly contemporary proof of the validity of Donelson's map and the identity of the Kentucky River as the western boundary of Virginia is provided in a letter from Colonel William Preston to George Washington, dated Fincastle, May 27, 1774.[40] Included with this letter dealing with land survey problems is a sworn statement by Richard Stanton, Edward Sharp, Ephraim Drake, and William Harrel. These frontiersmen had been employed by Preston to follow the boundary line as blazed and described by Donelson. They followed his line and verified its termination on the Kentucky River. There can hardly be a question as to which river was the true boundary in view of the following:

> Your deponents farther marched down the river till they came to such hunters camps which from the letters of their names on trees

[39] The discussion is based on a comparison of the manuscript map and description with modern topographic maps of the area. Of particular value in this were the Army Map Service series V.501, 1:250,000 scale, sheets NJ 17-10 and NJ 17-11. For a map of the Fry and Jefferson line see Samuel C. Williams, *Dawn of the Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), opposite p. 120.

[40] Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers,* 5 vols. (Boston and New York, 1898-1902), V (1774-1775), 1-2.

> fully satisfied your deponents it is the very river called by the hunters Louisa since called Kentucky which empties about seventy-five miles above the falls into Ohio.[41]

As Lloyd A. Brown wrote, "This single place name is a classic example of the confusion which can be caused by place names on maps of any age. It was called the Kentucky and the Catawba as well as the Louisa."[42]

In conclusion, it must be emphasized again that Donelson's map of the boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee Indians, as surveyed and drawn by him, plus supporting evidence, proves conclusively that the Kentucky River, not the Louisa Fork of the Big Sandy, was in fact that boundary. Thus the eastern one third of the present state of Kentucky was freed of a serious hindrance to white settlement.

The contemporary confusion surrounding this event was considerable, since as has been shown it represented a serious departure from the program as allowed by the Crown. The time lag due to the poor communications of the day added to the confusion. At least one important group found it essential to retrace Donelson's steps in order to be assured of the validity of land claims in the area.[43] On the other hand, the confusion which has clouded the accounts of this significant phase of westward expansion by the historians of the present century can only be attributed to the lack of knowledge of Donelson's map, sometimes coupled with over zealous imaginations.[44]

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[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Lloyd A. Brown, *Early Maps of the Ohio Valley* (Pittsburgh, 1959), 119-20.

[43] Little attempt is made in this paper to assess the influence of the Vandalia scheme promoters or other land speculators on the personalities and events connected with the determination of the Donelson line. The opinion of the author is that whatever influence may have been brought to bear (if any) was of an indirect nature and extremely difficult to relate to a study such as the one in hand.

[44] Another well known source of information on the general topic of this paper, which is not mentioned in the text, is Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-84* (Washington, 1887), 146. Royce presents an oft-cited map purporting to show the territorial limits of the Cherokee with the colonies and states. The Lochaber line is shown on this map and is apparently accepted as the actual boundary with Virginia in the period 1770 to 1772. Donelson's line is shown on the map but is erroneously marked "Treaty of 1772 with Government of Virginia." Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," *The American Historical Review* (New York), X (July, 1905), 782-91, shows the Lochaber line on his map illustrating his paper but makes no mention of Donelson's line. In an unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, August, 1930, Lawrence Derthick, "The Indian Boundary Line in the Southern District of British North America, 1763-1779," map opposite p. 62, shows the Donelson line following the Kentucky River, as does also Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest* (New York, 1920), map opposite p. 192. Both, however, show inaccurately the line from near Kingsport to the Kentucky River.

LOGGING ON LITTLE RIVER, 1890-1940

By ROBERT S. LAMBERT

Little River is a stream which rises among the peaks of the Great Smoky Mountains, descends swiftly to the broad valley of Tuckaleechee Cove, and then pursues a northwesterly course to join the waters of the Tennessee below Knoxville.

Several miles above Townsend, Tennessee, the main body of Little River is formed by the confluence of its three principal tributaries, the East, the Middle, and the West prongs. The East Prong rises under Clingman's Dome and Siler's Bald on the North Carolina state line. To it are drawn the waters from Sugarland Mountain to the northwest, and the chain, Miry Ridge-Blanket Mountain-Meigs Mountain to the southwest. Then it empties into a narrow gorge through which its waters have worn their way for many centuries. The watershed of the Middle Prong is bounded by the Miry Ridge-Blanket Mountain-Meigs Mountain range on the east, the North Carolina state line on the south, and Thunderhead Mountain and Defeat Ridge on the west. On the other side of Defeat Ridge are the West Prong (sometimes called Near Prong) and its principal tributary, Laurel Creek, which are separated by Bote Mountain until they come together about a mile above the junction of the three prongs.

Some of the finest virgin hardwood timber to be found in eastern America, as well as hemlock and spruce of high quality, once grew along the tributaries of Little River and on the high slopes from which they flow. For at least a half-century before 1940 these forests, now reserved for campers, hikers, and other nature lovers, resounded with the noises of axe, saw, and locomotive as commercial loggers strove to make the timber available to the demands of the market place.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the major hardwood stands of the northeastern and Great Lakes regions of the United States were showing signs of depletion, and lumbermen began to look to other areas for a future supply of timber. The hardwoods of the Southern Appalachians were virtually untapped until this time, but

little by little lumbermen began to purchase timberlands and stumpage in the more accessible river valleys. In the early 1880's they reached the lower waters of Little River.

This is not to say that the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee were uninhabited. Sturdy pioneer farmers had cleared land and built homes in some areas before 1830, and many other families had followed them in from the east.[1] Mountain farmers, singly or through community effort, were all lumbermen of sorts for their own needs, but their remoteness precluded many efforts at commercial logging.

By 1890 the more valuable hardwoods such as cherry, walnut, and ash were "playing out" on the lower streams, and only deep in the mountains could they be found in quantity.[2] The tulip, or yellow poplar, was more plentiful but was also in great demand. Therefore, the first characteristic of commercial logging on the waters of Little River was the selective cutting of these valuable species, which commanded such handsome prices in the lumber markets of the East and Middle West.

What was the source of the capital for these early operations? The available evidence indicates that many of the original investors were lumbermen from the older hardwood-producing regions of the country. Their plans involved heavy risks, for they were forced to locate their sawmills many miles from their source of timber and to rely upon the river current to bring their logs to the mill. Several of these enterprises were set up near Rockford, where the old Knoxville and Augusta Railroad crossed the lower reaches of the river. These were the most ambitious designs, but as one observer noted, a great deal of the first logging in the Smokies was carried on by "farmers and small saw mill operators . . . who cut from 25,000 to 250,000 feet of lumber each season."[3]

There was a direct relationship between the natural conditions of terrain and the logging methods employed. Animals were depended upon to provide the motive power; men were called upon to supply

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[1] Inez Burns, "Settlement and Early History of the Coves of Blount County, Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 24 (1952), 44-67.

[2] *Northwestern Lumberman* (Chicago), April 2, 1887.

[3] The quotation is from *ibid.*, July 21, 1894; some notices of the early mills on Little River are found in the issues of July 10, 1882, October 9, 1886, August 22, 1891, and March 17, 1894.

some of the necessary energy and to adapt their ingenuity to the solution of problems as they arose.

The first step in logging was to find and cut a likely tree. In rugged mountain country many valuable specimens were to be found on high slopes; therefore, it was necessary to bring the logs down to a stream or mill site. Usually this was accomplished by dragging the logs to a prepared rollway down the mountainside and "ballhooting" them down to the valley below. Hauling was done by teams of oxen both to bring the logs to the top of the rollway and to gather them at the bottom.[4]

At this point a choice had to be made between two procedures for getting the timber to market. The choice depended upon the location of the timber, the species, and the season. One method was to use the flow of the streams to float the timber in the log to the mill. On Little River this involved the use of a series of splash dams behind which large quantities of water could be impounded. The dams were located in the lower end of the Metcalf Bottoms and on Blanket Creek for the East Prong, and on Mark's Creek and Spruce Flats for the Middle Prong. When the splash boards were released the force of the water would carry the logs down to the broader stretch of the river where it was hoped that the current would be swift enough to float them the rest of the way. The yellow poplar, a relatively buoyant wood, was a favorite for stream driving. This method was of particular use in the 1890's when the mills of the J. L. English Lumber Company were operating at Rockford. Heavy spring freshets or long dry spells could spoil the loggers' plans, however, and the mills could never be certain of a steady supply of timber.[5]

The other method employed was to bring portable sawmills into the more accessible areas. These mills manufactured rough lumber which was loaded on wagons and hauled by teams to a railhead. A wagon road was built from the East Prong through Little Greenbrier Cove and Wear's Valley to Sevierville. The partnership of Swaggerty

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[4] See *ibid.*, May 2, 1885, for a description of rolling cherry timber in the Tennessee mountains.

[5] The author is indebted to Mr. Jim Shelton of Walland, Tennessee, for pointing out the exact locations of some of the splash dams which were used to convey logs to the English mill. That firm sold its property in East Tennessee and moved its offices from Knoxville to New York in 1904. *American Lumberman* (Chicago), July 23, 1904.

and Eubanks used this route as one of its sources of poplar and ash about the turn of the century.[6]

It is not known how much timber was removed by these methods before 1900. Certainly a fairly large proportion of the choice poplar, cherry, walnut, and ash was taken from the areas adjacent to the lower streams, but no serious depletion of the total resources of the Little River basin had resulted from the logging to that time. One contemporary authority estimated in 1905 that some 288,000,000 board feet of "log timber" and 1,107,000 cords of small wood remained in the area.[7]

The logging industry on Little River was about to enter a new phase in which the latest logging methods would utilize the timber more effectively than had been possible before that time. One observer in the 1890's, noting the uncertainties of supply resulting from haphazard methods of bringing timber to the mills, prophesied that "within the next decade . . . the logging railway or aerial system of transport will be the coming factors to assist lumbermen."[8]

In 1901 reports began to circulate that lumbermen were exploring the possibilities of extending a railroad into Tuckaleechee Cove in order to exploit the Little River timberlands. The *Southern Lumberman* declared that "indications are more favorable than ever for the development of the great resources of the Cove. If the plans carry it means a big thing for this section."[9] The plans turned out to be "a big thing" for they were being laid by the Little River Lumber Company, which for nearly forty years was to be the dominant factor in logging the Little River basin.

As early as 1899 the firm had begun to explore the basin by sending a cruiser in from the North Carolina side. The company's home office was in Philadelphia, and its first president was W. M. McCormick, a leading hemlock producer. The driving force behind the enterprise was provided by the general manager, W. B. Townsend, of Clear-

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[6] Swaggerty and Eubanks were reported to have shipped over 6,000,000 board feet of poplar to a Knoxville firm by 1903, and a fairly large proportion of that probably came from its cutting on the East Prong. *Southern Lumberman* (Nashville), May 15, 1903. Their land transactions may be traced in Deeds (Register of Deeds Office, Sevier County, Sevierville, Tenn.), particularly I, 311, 314; II, 435; X, 7; XII, 392.

[7] H. B. Ayres and W. W. Ashe, "The Southern Appalachian Forests," in United States Geological Survey, *Professional Paper No. 37* (Washington, D. C., 1905), 167-178.

[8] *Northwestern Lumberman,* June 30, 1894.

[9] December 1, 1901. For an earlier report see *American Lumberman,* October 27, 1900.

field, Pennsylvania. Of greatest interest to these men were the more valuable hardwoods and hemlock, a species which could be found in abundance in the southern Appalachians, but which had not been considered of sufficient value to warrant the expense necessary to remove it from the high elevations.[10]

The plans of the new enterprise called for the construction of a standard-guage railroad from a junction with the Southern Railway at Maryville to the mill and the timber. The Little River Railroad Company was chartered in 1901 with a capital of $150,000; it was authorized to extend its line up the main prongs of the river to the North Carolina state line.[11] Even more ambitious was the reported scheme for eventual extension of the railroad up Laurel Creek to its "terminus . . . at Bushnell, N. C."[12]

The Little River Lumber Company's mill and offices were located at Townsend in Tuckaleechee Cove, about three miles below the forks of the river. The mill had a listed capacity of 30,000 board feet per day in 1910, but on occasion 60,000 and even 120,000 feet were produced daily by it and the contractors' portable mills in the woods.[13]

The first areas to be extensively logged were the watersheds of the West Prong and Laurel Creek. The Little River Railroad was constructed along those streams, but the actual work in the woods was turned over to local contractors. Two brothers, John and Jim Shea, provided teams and saw crews to cut the timber and haul it to the railroad, and they also ran the commissary. Log slides, one of which was two and one-half miles long, were constructed to bring logs from the higher elevations down to the railroad. Horses were used to bunch logs at the slides and the railroad and for clearing skid roads as well. In certain places remote from the railroad, portable mills sawed rough lumber, which was then transported by wagon to the railhead. One portable mill was hauled on an incline to the top of a mountain above Anthony Creek.[14]

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[10] An interview with Mr. Granville I. Calhoun of Bryson City, N. C., reveals that he took the company's agent on to the tract. Brief biographical information on these men may be found in *American Lumberman,* March 23, 1901.

[11] *Southern Lumberman,* December 1, 1901.

[12] *American Lumberman,* December 7, 1901.

[13] *Register of Sawmill Equipment for 1910* (Chicago, 1910), 376.

[14] Interviews with Mr. Louis McCarter, Gatlinburg, Tenn., July 22, 1958, and Mr. Alex O. Bradley, Haysville, N. C., July 26, 1958. The portable mill is mentioned by

The operations on the West Prong began in 1903 and were carried on for about five years thereafter. On at least one occasion heavy rains washed out the railroad, and work at the mill was curtailed for several weeks while the track was relaid. In spite of such interruptions, it was reported that from 1905 through 1907 over 37,000,000 board feet of poplar, hemlock, ash, and other species had been cut. In one month, May, 1905, over 2,000,000 feet were shipped as the mill sawed lumber at the rate of 60,000 feet per day.[15]

In a sense this early phase was just preparatory to bigger things to come, for in 1908 the Little River Lumber Company embarked upon the most ambitious stage of its operations, the logging of the East Prong of the river. In the development of this watershed the company spent half its total life. In addition, it displayed a large measure of ingenuity in mastering the engineering problems involved in reaching and cutting successfully the timber of a region long considered to be inaccessible to commercial logging on a large scale.

The development of the East Prong had been assumed by the company almost from the day of its founding. As early as 1901 the firm purchased 40,000 acres in five parcels for $121,000. In succeeding years smaller tracts were acquired from residents or timber interests like Swaggerty and Eubanks to give the company rights of way for its railroad and access to the timber of the entire watershed. From time to time timber rights to isolated tracts were procured from individuals who retained title to the land.[16]

No problem was more trying than that of getting to the timber itself. For a dozen miles or more above the junction of the three prongs, the East Prong winds its way tortuously through a narrow gorge. As there are no sharp changes in elevation, the river provided the best means of access to the main watershed. But in the gorge itself the cliffs loom over the water so that only by rock blasting could a right of way be cleared that was wide enough to accommodate the railroad bed.

J. P. Murphy in his testimony in *Morton Butler Timber Company v. United States* (1937), U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 6th Circuit, Files of Great Smoky Mountains National Park (Gatlinburg, Tenn.), 216, 247. The testimony of experienced lumbermen in this and other cases has provided valuable background information. The lands were being condemned in order to create a national park.

[15] *American Lumberman,* March 2, 1907, March 3, June 24, 1906.

[16] Deeds (Sevier County), V, 266; VIII, 91; IX, 170; XVII, 143-72, 204.

In 1908 the work of extending the Little River Railroad through the gorge was carried out. The river was crossed three times by bridges in order to take advantage of less difficult conditions. The curves were so sharp—there were several of thirty-four and thirty-six degrees—that it became necessary to purchase a special Mallet-type locomotive to insure safe negotiation of the more treacherous turns. The track, of standard-guage, consisted of sixty-pound rails laid on hewn oak ties. The cost of constructing this line for eighteen miles was $360,000, a staggering sum for that time. In addition, by 1912 the Little River Railroad was using seven locomotives, thirty-five logging and flat-cars, three service cars, two passenger coaches, and two observation cars.[17]

Eighteen miles above Townsend the town of Elkmont was built as the base for woods operations on the East Prong. The railroad ran a regular passenger schedule to Elkmont, and it became a favorite holiday excursion before the day of good automobile roads into the area. The terminal, a post office, a commissary, and a number of residences comprised the town which existed for over fifteen years.

From Elkmont the railroad generally followed the main stream, and as cutting progressed spur lines were built along the tributaries. Further bridge construction was necessary, and, as the railroad began to penetrate the higher elevations, switchbacks were installed so that grades could be taken gradually.[18]

The penetration of the gorge by the railroad was an outstanding engineering achievement and made the timber of the East Prong marketable, but once this feat had been accomplished the operation of the railroad was generally routine. This was not true of logging itself, however, for new methods had to be adapted to the rugged mountain terrain.

As railroad construction progressed, some timber was removed along the right of way and from the small streams which joined the river. These areas, with some of the more accessible parts of the hollows in the vicinity of Elkmont, were cut by the familiar methods of saw crews and teams provided by local contractors who delivered logs to the nearest railroad siding. Above Elkmont, however, the grades were

[17] *Hardwood Record* (Chicago), November 3, 1912.
[18] *Southern Lumberman,* November 3, 1916.

steeper, and at last the Little River Lumber Company turned to some of the newer mechanical devices because the costs of team skidding had become excessive.

The first experiments were with ground skidding equipment; for example, a stationary donkey engine was able, by winding a cable on a drum, to pull logs in to the railroad more quickly than could be done by teams. This method was widely used in the lowlands of the South, but could be applied with only limited success to conditions in the Great Smokies where stumps, trees, and cliffs often impeded the progress of the logs.[19]

The company then sought the assistance of the Clyde Iron Works of Duluth, which had designed an overhead cableway system for use in the mountains. Put into operation in 1912, the system soon proved its worth by saving time and thus reducing logging costs. Soon four of these machines were in operation. The usual haul was about 2,000 feet, although on occasion logs were brought in from distances as great as 3,500 feet. The overhead system was especially effective in the spruce and hemlock forests below Clingman's Dome and Siler's Bald from 1917 to 1923.[20]

On especially steep grades incline railroads were put into use to attain heights to which rails could normally be laid only by the use of many switchbacks. Track was laid to the top of a slope, where a yarding machine was installed to pull cars up the grade by power and to let them down by controlled gravity. In this manner grades over thirty per cent could be surmounted where the safety limit for adhesion of wheel to rail on the ordinary logging railroad would not exceed ten per cent. A particularly striking example of the use to which the incline could be put was the line thrown across the river on a swinging bridge to surmount the Meigs Creek waterfall in the last stages of operations on the East Prong.[21]

The older methods continued to be employed in some areas. Teams were still called upon for many jobs, and log slides were used to advantage under certain conditions. An arrangement was made with the

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[19] *Smoky Mountains National Park Commission v. Champion Fibre Company, et. al., Condemnation Proceedings,* Sevier County Circuit Court, 1930, Files of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 240.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

Champion Fibre Company by which that firm's spruce pulpwood was conveyed to the Little River Railroad for shipment to the Champion mill at Canton, North Carolina. This was achieved by constructing a flume from the head of Rough Creek, where the Champion Fibre property adjoined the Little River lands, down to the siding in the hollow.[22]

The period of logging the East Prong saw also a noticeable shift in emphasis from the hardwoods to hemlock. Hardwoods were cut and marketed as always, but more and more hemlock was utilized as the higher elevations were reached. The outbreak of the First World War created a demand for spruce for use in airplane construction. The estimated spruce sawlog stumpage held by the company was 15,000,000 board feet; of this over 9,000,000 feet were cut and shipped in 1917 and 1918.[23]

During its operations on the East Prong the company suffered severe losses from what might be considered the occupational hazards of the industry—fires and trainwrecks. In 1916 a fire swept through and partly destroyed the mill, dry kilns, ice plant, and some adjacent buildings. The planing mill and some 15,000,000 feet of stored lumber were saved, but the value of the damaged property was estimated at between $70,000 and $80,000. The firm was well covered by insurance, however, and facilities were rapidly restored, and the mill resumed operations early in 1917. The inevitable brush fires started in the slash near the railroad, and occasionally, as on Jake's Creek in 1925, the fire got out of hand and caused widespread damage. There were a number of minor accidents on the railroad, especially on the temporary spur lines built up the tributaries of the main stream. The most famous wreck occurred at a switch just above Elkmont in 1909 and resulted in the death of the engineer, "Daddy" Bryson.[24]

By 1923 the accessible timber on the highest elevations above the East Prong had been cut out, and plans were set in motion to retreat from the basin. The railroad was taken up and laid into Jake's Creek above Elkmont, where operations continued until 1925. In that year

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[22] *Ibid.*, 189, 240-41.

[23] *Ibid.*, 240; Kenneth M. Clark, "Spruce Production in North Carolina and Tennessee with Special Reference to the Production of Airplane Stock, May 13, 1918," Forest Service Papers (Agriculture and General Services Branch, National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

[24] *Hardwood Record,* July 10, 1916, gives an account of the fire; interview with Louis McCarter, July 22, 1958, on train wrecks.

Map Showing Headwaters of Little River. U. S. Geological Survey, 1901 ed.

Snaking Birch Curly Wood. Collection of D. H. Tipton in National Park Headquarters, Gatlinburg.

Little River Railroad at Three Forks. Collection of D. H. Tipton in National Park Headquarters, Gatlinburg.

Flume Used to Transport Logs to Railroad. Collection of D. H. Tipton in National Park Headquarters, Gatlinburg.

Elkmont was left behind as the rails were removed below the town and through the gorge. Logging continued on the smaller creeks which flowed into the gorge so that virtually all the merchantable timber had been removed from the basin by the time the principal forks of the river were reached. Thus the era of logging on the East Prong ended at the point where it had begun some eighteen years before.[25]

The company now turned to the development of its remaining timber on the Middle Prong of the river. Generally most of the operating conditions were similar in nature to those experienced on the East Prong except that railroad engineering and construction were essentially simpler, and the distance between timber and mill was shorter. The pattern of logging was substantially the same, with principal reliance being placed upon mechanical methods. Production at the mill proceeded at an unusually high rate through the late 1920's, averaging over 22,000,000 feet per year. With the worsening economic conditions of the 1930's, this output could not be generally maintained; indeed, in the last year of operations the mill cut less than 2,000,000 feet.[26]

Economic conditions did not cause the cessation of operations on Little River. A new factor had emerged which would bring to an end the era of commercial logging, not only in the Little River basin, but throughout the Great Smoky Mountains. The development of the Middle Prong coincided with the movement in North Carolina and Tennessee to donate the Smoky Mountains lands to the United States government for the creation of a national park, and the Little River Lumber Company was among the first in that region which agreed to dispose of its lands to the Tennessee Park Commission. The firm was permitted to continue cutting merchantable timber for fifteen years, and its operations did not cease until 1939.

It will probably never be known how much timber was removed from the Little River basin during the period of commercial logging. The Little River Lumber Company estimated that some 560,000,000

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[25] Interview with D. H. Tipton, Townsend, Tenn., August 13, 1958. Most of the information on the chronology of cutting on the East Prong was given to me by Mr. Tipton, the last president, and, for many years, general superintendent of the Little River Lumber Company.

[26] "Cost of Production of Lumber and Pulp Wood for the Years 1923 to 1928, inclusive, based on Log Scales, and Statement of Logs Scaled and Cut at the Townsend Mill for the Year 1939, and the Period of Operation," Files of D. H. Tipton, Townsend.

board feet of logs were manufactured by the mill at Townsend. In addition, unmeasurable quantities of timber were consumed in construction work at the mill, on the railroad, and in the camps, while some spruce was shipped directly in the log. The timber cut by the small farmers and selective loggers before 1900 is of unknown quantity, but it seems reasonable to speculate that the basin yielded as much as 1,000,000,000 feet of timber before cutting stopped altogether. Poplar, cherry, and ash brought the best prices as lumber, but hemlock accounted for over fifty per cent by volume of the timber cut, although much of it was turned out as lath rather than lumber.[27]

Data on costs, profit, and income of the Little River Lumber Company are fragmentary at best, but figures which were based upon certain years in the 1920's indicate that the operation was essentially a profitable one. The firm must have provided substantial assistance to the economy of the area through the purchase of supplies and its payroll, but here again its actual effect cannot be measured.[28]

Now as the traveler proceeds up the Little River gorge into the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, he is probably unaware that a generation ago a substantial industry flourished in the area. Little evidence of that activity remains, but if the traveler is a careful observer, he may discern fragments of such evidence in the form of the mill building in Townsend, the Tennessee highway which winds its way through the gorge on the old railroad bed, and the residences which still stand around Elkmont. And everywhere within his vision stands second-growth timber which in one short generation has been unable to achieve the stature of that which once stood there.

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[27] "Statement of Logs Scaled, and Statement of Amount in Feet, Value, and Net Proceeds . . . of Lumber Shipped During 1939 and the Period of Operation." *Ibid.*

[28] "Net Proceeds from Sales of all Hardwood Lumber . . . for four years, viz; 1926, 1927, 1928, & 1929." *Ibid.*

ANDREW JOHNSON AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION

By Ralph W. Haskins

One hundred years ago, as the Union tottered on the brink of dissolution and the great essay in democracy seemed doomed to failure, Sam Milligan of Greeneville wrote thoughtfully to his old friend Andrew Johnson: "Experiment and time alone can correct the errors of an infatuated people, who have grown rich and powerful under the very government which they now wish to tear down. They will, I fear, accomplish it, and with it their own destruction. But it is the part of wisdom, as well as the highest duty of patriotism," he added, "to save the Constitution, and the eternal principles of government. The madness that rules the hous[e] will pass away, and returning reason bring back the wanderers . . . again."[1] To a degree, Milligan's words had the ring of prophecy. For secession began a revolution by which the ruling clique of the Old South was destroyed, the nation reunited, and the Constitution saved. Yet the means chosen to attain these ends was not peace, as the patriot Johnson counselled, but war. The wanderers were brought back not by reason but by force of arms.

The Civil War Centennial provides Americans with a chance for historical introspection. At its conclusion, they will know much more about the conflict itself—about the military phases, about the role of personalities, about the war behind the lines. More important, they will see it in enlarged perspective. That contemporaries resorted to war was a tragedy; that the nation was dissolved in the first place was scarcely less a tragedy and a damning indictment of the "Blundering Generation." Out of the vast majority who believed in the perpetuity of the Union, it is ironic that only a few public men spoke out vigorously for its preservation by measures short of bloodshed. Outstanding among these, and indeed one of the few southerners, was Andrew Johnson,

[1] Sam Milligan to Andrew Johnson, December 13, 1860, Andrew Johnson Papers (Library of Congress). This and all letters subsequently cited are to be found as paper facsimiles in the files of the Andrew Johnson Project, University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

whose courageous stand during the "cold war" before Sumter made him a national figure.

A man's early life may be a kind of microcosm of his future; so it was with Johnson. In several ways his career is the epitome of the American dream. He ascended the ladder of success from the bottom rung. From humble beginnings in North Carolina, he became a successful tailor in Greeneville—so successful that an examination of the 1850 census returns, ordinarily a dull chore, becomes fascinating when it reveals a number of tailors in that community—a plethora of "men of the cloth" perhaps inspired by his example. In the course of time he invested in land and bonds and also made loans, generally small but occasionally sizable. The Andrew Johnson of 1860 was hardly poverty-stricken. He was equally successful in the political arena. A lifelong Democrat, he was successively alderman and mayor, state representative and senator, and eventually governor. He spent ten years in the national House of Representatives and in 1857 became United States senator.

Johnson's slow but steady progress reflected one of the great historical trends of the time: the rise of the common man. Sprung from the people, he stood for the people—the farmer, the workman, the mechanic. He gloried in the company of Adam, who was a tailor and sewed fig-leaves, of Socrates, who wielded chisel and mallet, and of Christ, who was the son of a carpenter.[2] The papers and deeds of the "plebeian," as he liked to style himself, are replete with testimonials of his faith in the masses. As governor, he labored for a public school system; as congressman and senator, he was a veritable watchdog of the treasury, and he crusaded so fervently in behalf of the Homestead Bill that he may be justly called its "father." He opposed vested interests, whether they were in the form of banks or of planters. Once, interpreting a speech of Jefferson Davis as invidious to tailors and workingmen, he reacted characteristically with remarks about "an illegitimate, swaggering, bastard, scrub aristocracy."[3] A friend observed that if Johnson were a snake, he would lie in the grass and bite rich men's children.

It is a common fallacy to regard all men below the Mason and Dixon line as being of one mind. The Old South, like the New, sheltered a variety of viewpoints. As my colleague Dr. LeRoy P. Graf has

[2] Frank Moore, *Life of Andrew Johnson*, 68, quoted in Robert W. Winston, ***Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot*** (New York, 1928), 34.

[3] *Ibid.*, 50.

pointed out in a recent article,[4] Johnson remained a loyal southern Democrat of the Jacksonian species; but he found himself out of step with the party, the more so since the southern wing dominated its councils after the election of 1844. In many respects Johnson did not share the views of the dominant planters. Granted that he himself was a slaveholder with the racial outlook of the southern white, he was not an ardent defender of the peculiar institution. He was an interloper—too much of a maverick and indeed too much of a leveller—for the southern aristocrats to stomach. The Homestead Bill was unacceptable to most southern Democrats. Many northern Democrats either did not know him or perhaps distrusted him. His record in the House of Representatives reveals him as a dissenter often petty in his dissent, a blunt man of principle to whom compromise was almost invariably the wrong solution, and a verbal bludgeonist who now and then showed a trace of the demagogue. Ambitious for the presidency, Johnson was not really a "party man" at the national level. He was neither a leader among the Democrats nor had he many friends within the party.

These formative years afford an insight into his concept of the nature of the Union. In his program of self-education the tailor-politician heard and read selections from Jefferson and other founding fathers, as well as from the Constitution itself. The deep impression thus made upon his mind was re-enforced by years of experience in politics. He believed in the principles of Thomas Jefferson as expounded by Andrew Jackson. He insisted upon a strict interpretation of the Constitution and maintained that the rights of the states should be protected against encroachment by the federal government. But he feared extremes: opposed to centralization, he was even more opposed to secession and its "hermaphrodite," nullification.[5]

Long before the *dénouement* came, the shadow of disunion hung over the land. By the 'forties and 'fifties southern sectionalism had become southern nationalism and a minority was planning secession. That the edifice was crumbling was shown by the split of major religious denominations, the revolution in political parties, the growing skepticism toward compromise, and the increasing resort to violence.

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[4] LeRoy P. Graf, "Andrew Johnson and the Coming of the War," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), XIX (September, 1960), 212-16.

[5] *Ibid.*, 217-19. There is no evidence, however, that he took any definite stand during the nullification controversy of the 1830's.

One of the central themes of the time was the failure of the American process.

Southerners had threatened secession if a Black Republican should become President; and in the wake of Abraham Lincoln's election, northerners who had for years scoffed at such threats saw South Carolina, the citadel of state rights, leave the Union on December 20. She was to be followed shortly by other states of the deep South. The poverty of American leadership is nowhere more in evidence than in President James Buchanan's failure to cope with the deteriorating situation. He denied that a state had the right to secede; yet he denied that the federal government had the right to coerce a seceding state. The "old public functionary" offered a few compromise proposals designed to pour oil on the troubled waters. For the future, he would leave the issue to his Republican successor; for the time being, he left it to Congress.

The Thirty-Sixth Congress, thus charged with the responsibility of preserving the Union and of avoiding possible war, had the potentials of statesmanship. In the House were such men as Thaddeus Stevens, Justin S. Morrill, Charles Francis Adams, and Thomas Corwin. But Johnson's colleagues in the Senate shone brightly by comparison. The Vice-President was John C. Breckinridge, a Kentuckian of moderate views who had been supported for the presidency by the lower South. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi wore the mantle of the departed John C. Calhoun. No longer the fire-eater of 1850, he was nonetheless skeptical about the future of the Union. There was Robert Toombs of Georgia, a former Unionist now veering toward extremism, and his colleague the fire-eating Alfred Iverson, whom one writer, yielding to an irresistible impulse, called "Iverson the Terrible."[6] From Louisiana came Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell, the first a brilliant but casuistic lawyer who would enjoy a distinguished career in both the Confederacy and England, and the second a leading figure in the *Trent* Affair. There was Louis T. Wigfall, born in South Carolina but now gone to Texas, a fire-eater and master of invective and one of Johnson's chief gadflies in the months that followed. Finally, there was the elderly John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, a friend of the Union but only a faint echo of the great

[6] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 159.

compromiser Henry Clay. The South Carolina senators were conspicuous by their absence.

On the other side were William H. Seward of New York, once damned as an abolitionist but now clearly a moderate who chose expediency as his method for preserving the Union. Intent upon the same objective was the storm-center of the Democratic party, the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. The North harbored zealots like Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, now returned from a long absence—necessitated, as he said, by recuperation from *l'affaire Brooks;* necessitated, as others said, by partisan politics and a martyr complex. Of like viewpoint were such westerners as Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan: the one a profane abolitionist (if the noun and adjective be not incongruous) and the other an incendiary who declared that "without a little blood-letting, this Union will not . . . be worth a rush."[7] Joseph Lane of Oregon occupied the most anomalous position of all—southern-born and an ardent defender of secession, he represented a new state beyond the possibility of seceding. And there were others, advocates of compromise but largely unsung in their own time and relatively unknown today—William Bigler of Pennsylvania, George E. Pugh of Ohio, and Lazarus Powell of Kentucky.

It would be impossible to say whether the legislators or their constituents were the more excited; at any rate, congressional deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of high tension. The galleries were generally crowded and often "packed" with secessionists or Unionists, who punctuated the proceedings with cheers intermingled with hisses and the stamping of feet. "Order in the galleries" and "clear the galleries" were phrases often on the lips of presiding officers, who nevertheless gave deference to the ladies seated in a segregated section. That the senators now and then took liberties with history is obvious; that they often resorted to demogoguery is apparent; that they occasionally approached hysteria is possible. Speculation was rife: according to one rumor, Ben Wade had a shotgun in his desk; according to another sometime later, Johnson had "shot Jeff Davis."[8] But the first was never proven, and the second, like the passing of Mark Twain, was undoubtedly exaggerated. Yet, compared with the disorderly House, whose mem-

[7] Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln,* 2 vols. (New York, 1950), II, 412.
[8] Wm. M. Lowry to Johnson, December 29, 1860, Johnson Papers, L.C.

bers not only exchanged choice expletives but called each other out to reckonings with pistols and bowie knives, the upper chamber maintained something of its traditional air of sobriety. The senators restricted themselves to verbal salvos and adjectival brickbats.

Neither the radical Republicans nor the secessionists had anything resembling a majority. It is probable that most senators were inclined toward moderation, yet few of them spoke out boldly for the Union. Perhaps they lacked confidence or feared the criticism of the extremists; possibly they shared the cynicism, so typical of the day, toward reaching any kind of compromise. Regardless of viewpoint or section, it is well to remember that these men of 1860, unlike Jackson, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, and others nurtured in the older tradition of nationalism, were tutored in the school of sectionalism. Except for Johnson and a handful of others, genuine enthusiasm for the Union was lacking.

In general, representatives of the border slave states bore the brunt of the fight. Theirs was the dilemma of being caught between contending factions. Were they to be loyal to the old government or to adhere to the new? What of the future of slavery? Would they be subjected to the ravages of war? Though Andrew Johnson was not a member of the Committee of Thirteen appointed to deal with the secession crisis, border state men were well represented.

For some years prior to the election of 1860 Johnson seems to have discounted the menace of secession. Certainly he had long distrusted the theories of Calhoun and others, and as early as 1852, he expressed fears for the future; but his subsequent correspondence during that decade yields little on the subject. In January, 1859, he spoke of the propensity for "singing peans and hosannas for the Union . . . done so often that it has got to be entirely a business transaction."[9] It is possible that Johnson had so often heard threats of disruption that he regarded them as mere buncombe and bombast. His illusions, if any, were soon dispelled. On the day before the election, he foresaw a Republican victory, added that he believed the South would use this as a pretext to secede, and predicted that the effort would fail. "When the crisis comes," said he, "I will be found standing by the Union."[10]

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[9] John Savage, *The Life and Public Services of Andrew Johnson . . . Including His State Papers, Speeches and Addresses* (New York, 1866), 145.

[10] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 150.

How did Johnson plan to stand by the Union during the secession winter? He believed that the border states, acting as a unit, might hold the balance of power. Tennessee, in turn, would be a kind of fulcrum to hold together this middle area; so Tennessee must be kept in the Union at all costs. He did not believe that the state would secede, partly because of his own considerable influence there and partly because of optimistic reports from his correspondents. Johnson worked behind the scenes in behalf of a border state convention, and busied himself in other ways. He introduced amendments and resolutions, he supported the compromise proposals of others, and he delivered several ringing speeches in the Senate.

He was well aware of the value of propaganda in influencing public opinion. Even before the South Carolina secession convention met on December 17, he and others aided the director of the census in compiling a list of southern voters to whom census clerks addressed and dispatched Unionist speeches—just as he would later respond to the landslide of requests that followed his own addresses.[11]

On December 13 he submitted a proposal for three constitutional amendments. The first would place the selection of the President and Vice-President in the hands of the people, voting by districts. These posts were to be alternated between North and South. A second amendment proposed that senators should also be elected by direct vote. Similarly, the Supreme Court was to be made more responsible to the popular will. The tenure of the justices was to be limited by dividing the court into three classes with staggered terms, and vacancies were to be filled one-half from the slave states and the remainder from the free states.[12]

None of these propositions was new. Johnson had long advocated direct election and he had offered the Supreme Court amendment in the House of Representatives. There was nothing superficial about them; on the contrary, they were revolutionary measures that would have produced a fundamental change in politics. Seen in another way, they were concerned with the protection of a minority from the tyranny of a majority. The idea of alternating between North and South is reminiscent of Calhoun's concurrent voice. In these amendments, which

[11] Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy,* 404, cited in Graf, "Andrew Johnson and the Coming of the War," 219.

[12] *Cong. Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 82-83.

made no headway in the Senate, we see both the tribune of the people and the southern Democrat.

From time to time he brought in resolutions. On the same day, he advocated the establishment of a new division between free and slave territory—a resurrection of the geographical principle in the Missouri Compromise. Other proposals gave further guarantees to slavery in the states.[13] These suggestions anticipated by several days the more important Crittenden Compromise; yet they did not come to a vote and there is no evidence that they were seriously considered. By January he was skeptical of amendments, believing that they would benefit only the northern majority.[14]

Unsuccessful in his own proposals, Johnson endorsed those of others. Though he appears to have been rather lukewarm toward the Crittenden Compromise, he was anxious that it receive a fair hearing. In mid-January, as it came to a critical vote, he hastened to the side of the senator from Louisiana and whispered "Mr. Benjamin, vote! Let us save this proposition and see if we cannot bring the country to it. Vote, and show yourself an honest man."[15] Mr. Benjamin was not interested.

Of far greater significance were Johnson's various speeches in behalf of the Union. The first, interrupted by other business and by the heckling of Wigfall and others, occupied several hours on December 18 and 19. It was timely, for the Senate was now considering the Crittenden amendments, the South Carolina secession convention was deliberating, and five days earlier, thirty southern legislators had signed an open address to their constituents, in which they declared that the only hope lay in a southern confederacy.

The speaker identified himself with southern interests but not with secession. He denied that Lincoln's election menaced the South and he invoked the idea of a safety valve: let us keep the North to quarrel with. Conceding that the South had just grievances, he called for joint action; but he insisted that the panacea for these ills lay inside the Union—that the war for southern rights should be waged "upon the battlements of the Constitution." He criticized northern states which had violated the

[13] *Ibid.*, 83.
[14] See draft of "Remarks," probably written in January, 1861, in Johnson Papers, L.C.
[15] Winston, *Andrew Johnson*, 177. There is no reference to this incident in any of the Benjamin biographies.

Constitution by passing personal liberty laws and by refusing to execute the Fugitive Slave Act. But where was the logic in seceding and at the same time demanding that the North comply with the Constitution and the laws? Instead of mutual concessions, for "I am not a compromiser . . . in the usual acceptation" of the term, he preferred congressional legislation or constitutional amendments, "upon the principle that they are right and upon no other ground." He emphasized his opposition to a "big" government; yet he wanted a government strong enough to preserve itself. If the right of secession were conceded, the Union was no stronger than "a rope of sand." Citing the opinions of James Madison, Jefferson, John Marshall, and Jackson, he denied the right of secession and maintained that the compact was not temporary but perpetual, not voluntary but irrevocable. Though the federal government could not coerce a state, it could act upon the individuals within that state to enforce the law of the land.

The speech was fraught with grim forebodings. What would be the effects of secession? Assuredly the end of the Union would mean the end of slavery. And if South Carolina made an alliance with a foreign power, the United States would be justified in using strong measures. What about the free navigation of the Mississippi? What significance would secession hold for the border states? Moreover, if one state seceded, would not the nation ultimately be divided piecemeal

> . . . into thirty-three petty Governments, with a little prince in one, a potentate in another, a little aristocracy in a third, a little democracy in a fourth, and a republic somewhere else; a citizen not . . . able to pass from one State to another without a passport or a commission . . . with quarreling and warring amongst the little petty powers.

There were ringing phrases. "It was good enough for Washington, for Adams, for Jefferson, and for Jackson. It is good enough for us. I intend to stand by it. . . . It is the last hope of human freedom." If we preserve the Constitution "we shall save the Union; and in saving the Union, we save this, the greatest Government on earth."[16]

The passage of a century provides historical hindsight and in theory, a degree of detachment. Any students of the period, editors or otherwise, who have struggled through Johnson's letters, his state papers, and his speeches, cannot fail to be impressed by his capacity for growth—by his increasing ability to cope with the vagaries of the

[16] *Cong. Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 117-20, 134-43.

English language, by the salutary influence of wider reading, and by his general maturity. The phraseology is of the times—now and then a long, grandiloquent sentence and an occasional allusion to the classics, but with little of the florid oratory of that day. Whether or not one accepts the hypothesis that Johnson was a scholar rather than a "doer,"[17] the speech demonstrates more than a passing acquaintance with the American past and indeed shows some research into political and constitutional history. If the southern point of view is apparent, it is equally obvious that the speaker is a man who values the Union above all else. Even though he minced no words, this speech, unlike his later ones, was basically conciliatory. His denial that he was a compromiser was a mistake; unfortunately, many public men were saying the same thing. In his references to the future of slavery, the removal of a safety valve, and a consolidated government, there was what a biographer calls "prescience."[18] Many Unionist speeches were made in Congress, but Johnson, as a southern Unionist, stood virtually alone.

What did his contemporaries think—men immersed in the crucible and without the Olympian detachment of a hundred years hence? A modern biographer overstated the case when he wrote subsequently that "it was not the Senate alone, but the whole country that was listening—the South with execration and the North with tumultuous approval."[19] Irrespective of what might have been said in the cloakrooms or corridors, in the boarding-houses or taverns, the microscopic print of the *Congressional Globe* does not convey accurately the enthusiastic reception given elsewhere. Only a few senators, and certainly none from the South, praised the speech or even alluded to it. Unquestionably northern men took a new interest in Johnson and some now discovered that he had enduring qualities once overlooked. He who had roundly criticized Seward and others after the John Brown episode was now Seward's "noble friend," and Simon Cameron spoke of "the lion-hearted Johnson."[20] With southern extremists, it was another story. Johnson observed subsequently that "a bevy of conspirators" came from the other house, and he spoke bitterly of "the taunts, the jeers, the derisive remarks, and contemptuous expressions."[21] Lane denied the

[17] Milton Lomask, *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial* (New York, 1960), 182-83.
[18] Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson, A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), 60.
[19] *Ibid.*, 71.
[20] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 168.
[21] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 62.

power of coercion, denied that the compact was irrevocable, and blamed the Republicans for the dissolution of the country. Davis called Johnson "an ally" of Ben Wade, thus rendering a verdict of guilt by association.[22] Wigfall's several speeches, for which he ransacked both ancient and modern history, were diatribes delivered in English, French, and Latin—masterpieces of sarcasm, innuendo, and outright villification. Johnson had lamented that Davis, the warrior, had now deserted the ramparts; Wigfall impugned Johnson's own patriotism, saying that he was "not upon the battle-fields of Mexico," but "electioneering . . . trying to get place and office." The Homestead Bill would have disrupted the Union. Johnson was a lukewarm supporter of his own ticket—a charge that was well-founded. Out of his arsenal of opprobrium Wigfall brought such phrases as "renegade southerner," "Helperite," "Black Republican," "Red Republican," "*sans culotte* of the purest stamp" (scarcely a reference to Johnson's tailoring), "popinjay," and "jackal."[23]

The Johnson Papers afford still another opportunity for appraisal. From December to April, his correspondence multiplied: he received hundreds of letters from all parts of the nation. With a few exceptions, these provide eloquent testimony of wide acclaim. His heart must have been gladdened and his courage reinforced—providing, of course, that he had time to read them and could decipher the bad penmanship. There were letters from the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the cultured and the illiterate. Letters came from prominent politicians and businessmen, from resident and transplanted Tennesseans, from old friends and utter strangers, from farmers and mechanics, from pacifists and laborites, from newspaper editors, and from members of all political parties. Undoubtedly they provided valuable information. Perhaps they gave Johnson a "public opinion bath," as Lincoln would have said.

Unfavorable reaction came chiefly from secessionists and their sympathizers. Though Tennessee was not to secede until June, the tide of disunion sentiment was running stronger in the middle and western parts of the state. A coolness had already developed between Johnson and Governor Isham G. Harris, a man of secessionist sympathies, and

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[22] *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 308.
[23] *Ibid.*, 780-88.

there were various unsuccessful moves in the state legislature to "instruct" its senator or even to recall him.[24] There is little question that Johnson lost many friends among the Democracy. One of his Knoxville correspondents wrote that he was being denounced by such men as General John Crozier Ramsey, C. W. Charlton (postmaster), Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, "and a few low down loafers."[25] He was shot, stabbed, hung, burned, and fancied in effigy in Memphis, Nashville, and elsewhere. Still, his prestige in Tennessee was probably greater than ever.

There was an occasional hostile letter from the deep South. A citizen of Mobile remarked that "no man having a drop of southern blood in his veins would openly proclaim such doctrines," and one Mississippian threatened to humiliate an impudent mulatto slave by sending him to Washington armed with a cowhide to give Johnson some *"marks* of *his attention."*[26] But the correspondence contains surprisingly few such fiery epistles. It may be that the secessionists simply ignored him; it is also possible that many letters were subsequently destroyed by accident or by design. A family may bask in the reflected glow of a famous ancestor; but that fame may be at times a burden and his papers may even become something of a liability. If the descendants have a keen eye to the opinions of posterity, they may prefer that posterity view their ancestor in the most favorable light. In a word, they may do their own editing.

Letters from the North generally endorsed his sentiments. One man criticised Johnson because he was not strong enough on the issue of coercion. To the same correspondent, evidently an ideological descendant of Alexander Hamilton, Johnson was "fostering the ground work of secession" by asserting that states were sovereign.[27] Several Republicans wrote at some length, picturing their party as one of moderation rather than radicalism; among these was a thirty-eight page discussion from a Pennsylvanian.[28]

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[24] W. R. Harley to Johnson, January 14, 1861; R. R. Butler to same, January 15, 1861; and R. Johnson to same, January 15, [1861], Johnson Papers, L.C.

[25] Jos. C. S. McDannel to Johnson, December 29, 1860, *ibid.*

[26] H. S. Smith to Johnson, December 26, 1860, and "Grand Junction" to same, February 3, 1861, *ibid.*

[27] Walter S. Waldie to Johnson, February 3, [1861], *ibid.*

[28] John Griffen to Johnson, January 7, 1861, and Joseph W. Stokes to same, January 16, 1861, *ibid.*

But the bulk of the letters from most areas eulogized him. Johnson's courage inspired many of his correspondents to rise to the superlative. One reads such phrases as "the man on the watch-tower," "second Andrew Jackson," and "the courage which dared to oppose the Catalines, Arnolds, and Burrs of 1861." Being martyred in effigy had its advantages, too, for a resident of Meigs County declared that "the blood of the saints is the seed of the church." Some of the letters were touching in their homely patriotism: "Yes Gov—we are with you . . . The mountain boys—The wood choppers The rail splitters—Infact the bone and sinew of the country back you."[29] If he lost many friends among the Democrats in Tennessee, he gained a host of new ones among former Whigs who had opposed him for years. That the age of miracles had not passed was evidenced by a letter from a Knoxvillian, who reported that Johnson's old enemy Parson Brownlow had told him "*Johnson is right . . . a true Jackson Democrat* . . . and I will defend him to the last."[30] To be cast in the image of Jackson was a signal honor for one who had taken the Old Hero as his chief political mentor. And more than a few men saw him in the highest office of the land. "You are booked for the 'White House' and have a 'through ticket'," wrote one.[31] A few offered their own suggestions for remedying the evils that beset the country. One man counselled peaceful division, another a national convention, and a third proposed the creation of "diplomatic districts," out of which the consuls would be elected by the people—a degree of democracy which must have given pause even to the plebeian.[32]

Requests poured in for copies of his speech, as well as for other documents: "I love to Reade But am two poore to furnish myself thease Long winter Nights[.] it would do me and the old woman good to Read Enny thing that Andy Johnson Send us[.]"[33] The influence on public opinion of the speech must have been considerable. Allowing for the emotions of the moment and the wave of excitement which accompanied his words, Johnson had struck a responsive chord.

Yet such efforts did nothing to halt the inexorable march of events. South Carolina had already left the Union and in January other states

[29] W. Crutchfield to Johnson, January 14, 1861, *ibid.*
[30] Jos. C. S. McDannel to Johnson, December 29, 1860, *ibid.*
[31] Richd K. Anderson to Johnson, December 27, 1860, *ibid.*
[32] Columbus W. Ford to Johnson, December 19, 1860, *ibid.*
[33] H. W. Winfree to Johnson, January 18, 1861, *ibid.*

of the lower South followed. The same month saw the *Star of the West* repelled by the batteries in Charleston Harbor. The Crittenden Compromise failed by one vote in the Senate on March 2, and other congressional efforts were fruitless. Events in February and early March deepened the gloom. A provisional government for the Confederate States of America was organized. In public, Lincoln spoke seldom but firmly; in private, he counselled the Republicans to shun compromise. Greeley of the *New York Tribune* said over and over, "Let the erring sisters depart," but his editorials were so honeycombed with qualifications that they gave the lie to his fervent pleas for peace. A peace conference, presided over by the venerable John Tyler, assembled at Washington on February 4. No delegates from the deep South attended; the Republicans sent representatives, more to watch the proceedings than to aid in a settlement. Someone suggested that Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan—more living former Presidents than at any other time in American history—issue a manifesto to the people. Nothing came of it.

It was in these circumstances that Johnson delivered a second major speech on February 5 and 6. It was some six weeks in preparation—six weeks to study and two days to disgorge, as Lane said derisively. Though he traversed much the same ground as before, this address was more militant and in some respects less logical. To his declaration that secession was a political heresy, Johnson added the charge of a long-standing conspiracy to break up the Union—a notion widely held at that time but since discredited. Centering his accusations on South Carolina, he examined the state's history as far back as the Revolution—a bit of research that does not stand up to the scrutiny of the historian. Once more he was at pains to denounce extremists in general, whether "run-mad Abolitionists" or red-hot disunionists. If the Palmetto State was the historic southern culprit, Massachusetts was its northern counterpart.[34]

> I have sometimes thought that it would be a comfort if Massachusetts and South Carolina could be chained together as the Siamese twins, separated from the continent, and taken out to some remote and secluded part of the ocean, and there fast anchored, to be washed by the waves, and to be cooled by the winds; and after they had been kept there a sufficient length of time, the people of the United States might entertain the proposition of taking them back.

[34] *Cong. Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 748.

Rejoinders to his critics were mingled with sarcastic references to the farewell speeches of the departing senators: "sweet tones, euphonious utterances, mellifluous voices." Again he appealed to the people. And there was the inevitable peroration:[35]

> I have been told . . . that the Union is . . . dead, and merely lying in state waiting for the funeral obsequies to be performed. If this be so . . . and that flag, that glorious flag . . . shall be struck from the Capitol and trailed in the dust—when this Union is interred, I want no more honorable winding sheet than that brave old flag, and no more glorious grave than to be interred in the tomb of the Union.

Johnson's later outburst of March 2 was largely extemporaneous, prompted in part by Lane's strictures of the same day. It also mirrored the increasing passions of the time; secession was now an accomplished fact and war imminent. So it was natural that he concerned himself with the theme of crime and punishment. He defined treason according to the Constitution and he sounded the notes of a continuous cacophony: "Treason must be punished. . . . Were I the President of the United States . . . I would have them [the traitors] arrested; and if convicted, . . . by the Eternal God I would execute them." He depicted the secessionists as tyrants who had deprived the common man of a voice in his own affairs—deprived him of "the elective franchise, that glorious lightning-rod that conducts the thunder of tyrants off the heads of the people." Once more he trumpeted for the Union, vowed that Tennessee would never desert it, and demanded security for the border states. The stumper who had once exorcised the demons of Federalism and Whiggery was at his best in denouncing Lane and other extremists. He intended, he said, to stick to the senator from Oregon" as tight as Jew David's Adhesive Plaster." He cited Dr. Samuel Johnson; he quoted Cardinal Wolsey and Shakespeare's *Macbeth.*[36] Remarking that "these two eyes never looked upon any being in the shape of mortal man that this heart of mine feared," Johnson the actor "rose to full height, pointed with two right fingers at Lane, and smote his breast with a blow that reverberated through the Senate chamber."[37] The speech was interrupted by prolonged applause from the galleries, at this time occupied predominantly by Unionists. Small wonder that Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina could say caustically, "this Senate has . . . been

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[35] *Ibid.,* 772.
[36] *Ibid.,* 1350-51, 1354-56.
[37] *Ibid.,* 1350; Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 180.

converted into a sort of theater for applause," and a spectator could write that nothing like it had ever been heard in the Senate.[38]

Again there was a burst of enthusiasm from a multitude of correspondents. There were the same superlatives, the same comparisons with Jackson, and the same rosy visions of Johnson's elevation to the White House. "If I can be even a spoke in the wheel . . . I will at once take the stump and ask for the great cause of bringing about the time prophesied by Carlyle, when the Tailors shall become the hierarchs of the Earth. . . ."[39] And these letters reflect one of the most significant results of his Unionism: hundreds of job applicants, mainly from Tennessee but from the North as well, besought him to use his influence with the new administration. Johnson, the southern Democrat, was chosen over John Bell and other former Whigs as the chief patronage dispenser for Tennessee.[40]

During the remaining weeks, he strove in vain for a border-state convention. The term over, he returned home and took the stump against the secessionists. But the firing on Ft. Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers wrote *finis* to his plans for saving the Union and the state. A wave of secessionism led Tennesseans to vote on June 8 for separation from the Union, but Johnson's efforts, combined with those of Brownlow and others, resulted in a Unionist vote in East Tennessee. Acclaimed by Unionists, anathema to secessionists, his life in jeopardy, Johnson left the state but kept his seat in the Senate. A new phase had begun—he was now an exile.

What can be said in retrospect? Most assessments of Johnson are based on his presidency rather than on his career as a whole, and run to extremes varying from a southerner's judgment that he was "a first-rate stump speaker, a second-rate statesman, and a third-rate politician" to Harry Truman's verdict that he was the most mistreated of Presidents, "slandered and vilified by the press and the biased historians."[41]

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[38] *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1351; Winston, *Andrew Johnson*, 185.

[39] Louis C. Scott to Johnson, March 9, 1861, Johnson Papers, L.C.

[40] J. Milton Henry, "The Revolution in Tennessee, February, 1861, to June, 1861," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (June, 1959), 109-14.

[41] Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction*, 253, quoted by Willard Hays, "Andrew Johnson's Reputation," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 31 (1959), 24; Harry S. Truman, "The Most Mistreated of Presidents," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), XXXVI (April, 1959), 204.

The Johnson of the cold war period rose for the first time to statesmanship. It took courage to beard the extremists. But courage was one of his sterling qualities—a characteristic of the lowly tailor who had defied the Greeneville aristocracy and of the President without a party who challenged the Radicals.

His constitutional nationalism was neither the organic Unionism of Francis Lieber nor the leviathanism of Hamilton; rather, it rested upon a balance between the central government and the states. His concept of the nature of the Union is still debatable in the abstract. Obviously, his amendments were too far ahead of their time and some are too radical for our day. In general, his analysis of American history was sound; however, an historian can cut his cloth to fit preconceived notions.

He was handicapped to some extent by temperament and viewpoint. Characteristically, he saw the problem in terms of moral rules and high principles. Clingman of North Carolina observed that his speeches steeled the North against concession—this is a moot question. But one may wonder about such inflexibility, for the art of compromise is one of the hallmarks of the American political genius. And his lack of standing in the Democratic party weighed heavily against him. Andrew Johnson would have understood the predicament of some twentieth century Americans: an outsider, a rugged individualist, and indeed a controversial figure, he was a non-conformist in a South that demanded conformity. Ironically, his loyalty to the Democracy may have contributed to Tennessee's secession. As patronage referee, he filled federal jobs with deserving Democrats rather than meritorious Whigs, thus weakening Unionist sentiment among this traditionally Unionist group.[42] Still, a peaceful solution of the American crisis was beyond the control of any one man. At such a juncture Clio might well ponder the problem of historical inevitability.

To say that Johnson was politically ambitious does not detract from his statesmanship. He had been bitten by the presidential bug, and the burst of enthusiasm which followed his exertions must have given him high hopes of a mandate from the people. Certainly they would not soon forget his stand for the Union.

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[42] Henry, "The Revolution in Tennessee," 111-13.

Nor, for that matter, did an old North Carolinian of the present day, who suggested that the Civil War centennial might be commemorated by raising a statue on Roan Mountain to Andrew Johnson and the Union.[43] Fantastic as it may have sounded, the proposal was not altogether inapropos. If Johnson's efforts to save the Union failed, they were a milestone on his road to the presidency; and in the annals of American patriotism they were a *tour de force.*

[43] A statement by an unidentified participant in a Civil War Centennial meeting held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in February, 1959, attended by the author.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by

D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-32)

XXIV—May-June, 1793

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO VILLEBEUVRE, NATCHEZ, MAY 28, 1794[1]

Within a very few days there will leave from here a certain John Wood, son of a person of this name, who took to America the Chief of this nation named Taboca.[2] Since I know of his father's conduct, of which you will have information, I suspected his son, and examined him carefully, but finding no indications of evil, I contended myself by assuming that his intention is to return to America through the Choctaw nation, where he lived for some time with Benjamin James,[3] and from there transferred to the Chickasaws. Although the said John Wood is young, it is necessary nevertheless that you watch his conduct, noting secretly what he and said James talk about, or if he gives counsels to the Indians that will distract them from our interests, and in order to get information of this kind, you may use some confidant, who will secretly learn this, and in case you learn something of moment, you will take the measures you think most proper.

May God keep you many years, Natchez, May 28, 1794

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Juan de la Villebeuvre

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I.,P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] A.G.I.,P.C., 42. Gayoso was governor of the Natchez district; Villebeuvre was the Spanish agent to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations.

[2] The relation between Captain John Woods (senior) and Taboca, a Choctaw chief, is discussed in Fraser to Miró, April 15, 1788, *Publications* No. 14 (1942), 99-100. See also *ibid.,* No. 11 (1939), 85n. The father had been Georgia agent to the Choctaws. By America, Gayoso meant the United States.

[3] Benjamin James, now used as interpreter by the Spaniards, had earlier replaced the elder Woods as Georgia agent to the Choctaws. *Publications* No. 11, p. 85n.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, MAY 31, 1793[4]

My most esteemed governor. I have just received Your Grace's letter of the 16th[5] of the current month by the hands of McIntoche,[6] which I will answer tomorrow, since I am going to send you at one time all the volunteers, counting, in case of necessity, on help from you, for when help is needed because of an invasion from above, it is indispensable that it take the form of troops in order to animate the inhabitants, or rather to instill in them respect and make them do their duty. To assist Your Grace everybody will go against the Creeks also, but it is not the same to go against their own compatriots. If I have plenty of troops the good people will march with pleasure and the bad will not dare reveal themselves. Your Grace perhaps does not know that I have among the inhabitants themselves a party who, for previous motives, are declared enemies of the Americans. They are devoted persons (although not of the best morals) and persons whom I study to have satisfied, and they are: about this I will say more.

In spite of my representations Your Grace must not think that I desire not to understand the means that you need to defend yourself; my system is to turn to the greatest need, so I let the volunteers go with pleasure for the greater security of the Capital.

Your Grace can depend on efficacious help when you are most in need although you may not ask for it.

Just arrived here is the man named Hinds of whom I spoke in my previous letter[7] as being at the Chickasaw Bluffs, with two flatboats. He is the one that took General Robertson's[8] son there.

He declares that in Cumberland he took on board for General Robertson 100 bushels [*minoes*] of corn for Chickasaw Bluffs, of which General Robertson's son went in charge, and that in addition he carried two ploughs, a howitzer, and four small cannon; that when he arrived at New Madrid he declared to the commandant the destination of Robertson and the corn; and that consequently he incurred no blame. He brought two flatboats, one of which remains behind.

He told me that Piomingo[9] was there to receive the corn and that he returned to the Nation while Robertson went to Cumberland; that neither by land or by water has any other present been given; and that the Creeks and Cherokees bothered Cumberland very much, in which country two companies of cavalry had been formed to defend the frontier.

Your Grace can interrogate him on these points.

The commandant at Walnut Hills[10] placed a guard on board the said flatboat, sending me as prisoners the captain and the crew, which was not a bad thing since it did not detain them, so that this precaution has caused them no inconvenience. But I have seen fit to let them pass freely for the reason that Your Grace will understand, since we have no right to hinder the Americans sending food to the Indians when they do not go accompanied by forces to

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[4] A.G.I.,P.C., 42. Baron de Carondelet was governor of Louisiana.

[5] Unavailable.

[6] Probably James McIntosh or William McIntosh, Jr., both of whom lived in the Natchez district.

[7] Gayoso to Carondelet, May 27, 1793, printed in *Publications* No. 32 (1960), 93. For John Hinds see Hinds to Carondelet, June 14, 1793, printed below.

[8] General James Robertson of the Cumberland settlement.

[9] Piomingo was a Chickasaw chief.

[10] Captain Elias Beauregard. Walnut Hills was at the site of Vicksburg.

make settlements; and, as for the bearer of this letter, I do not find him blamable since he declared to Portell[11] the cargo that he carried for the Chickasaws, which I find proved by the contents of the letter from the said commandant in which he reported the matter to Your Grace.

Within two or three days Turnbull and the Chickasaw King[12] will be here, the results of which I will report with clarity to Your Grace.

I do not wish to detain the bearer until tomorrow when I will talk with Hinds officially and send the passport which he has, or see the memorandum of Your Grace allowing him to come and settle in this province.

I remain yours with the greatest affection, and your most sincere and passionate servant.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

The delay of the bearer's departure leaves me room to say to Your Grace that Turnbull arrived with the Chickasaw King and three other chiefs who are now with me. All the Nation is disposed toward peace, and the same seems to be the case with the Creeks, for which reason the assembly can be held, although after some delay.

Señor Baron de Carondelet

The Chickasaws were very jealous of the fort projected on Tombigbee. As for the post on Chickasaw Bluffs, they have referred the matter to a meeting of the whole Nation; this is a particular matter for Turnbull, whom I have informed that he cannot continue the trade unless it be there, with reasons added that have convinced him that it is of greatest concern to him.

The volunteers[13] will all leave here in the afternoon of next Monday, and by them I will write you on these matters.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JUNE 3, 1793[14]

No. 299

Enclosed I am sending Your Lordship a memorial from Mr. John Hinds,[15] a native of the Kingdom of Ireland, in which he begs Your Lordship for permission to go after his effects and the rest of his family in the United States and to return with them via the Ohio and the Mississippi to settle in this Province as a Vassal of His Majesty, which permission he begs you will grant by your decree.

This person passed by here a few days ago, and by now should be in that Capital with his flatboat loaded with corn, tobacco, and peltry, leaving behind another flatboat loaded with similar products which will follow him.

This is the same person who brought to Chickasaw Bluffs the son of General Robertson with corn and other things for the Chickasaw Indians, on learning which Don Elias Beauregard, commandant of the post at Walnut Hills, put

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[11] Capt. Thomas Portell, commandant at New Madrid (L'Ainse a la Graisse).

[12] For John Turnbull see *Publications* No. 29 (1957), 142n.; No. 31 (1959), 65. The King of the Chickasaws was Taskihatoka.

[13] Apparently a reference to recruits Carondelet was gathering to meet a possible French invasion. He was then rounding up persons thought to be plotting against Spanish dominion in Louisiana.

[14] A.G.I.,P.C., 42.

[15] Hinds was delayed at Natchez so that Gayoso had time to write again on that date, at which time the memorial (printed below) seems to have been re-dated June 14.

a guard on board and sent this man to me as a prisoner. I questioned the said Hinds about the affair and he declared that, being in Cumberland loading his possessions to come to this Province, General Robertson requested that he bring the latter's son[16] as a passenger to Chickasaw Bluffs, and also four hundred bushels [*minoes*] of corn to that place, which he thought he could not refuse to do, believing also that the government of this Province would not oppose. He added that on arriving in New Madrid he reported the circumstances to the commandant of that post, telling him in French as well as he could, which was well enough understood that the commandant did not feel it necessary to question him again, and let him pass freely; which the commandant considered proper since he could not get instructions from Your Lordship about such an occurrence.

He assured me that the present consisted of the said four hundred bushels of corn, four small cannon, and a small howitzer without a carriage, and it seems that there were also ploughs and some other unimportant items, all for Piomingo. He also told me that the said General Robertson intended to send up to twelve hundred bushels; but since the price of corn had gone up he sent only four hundred; and he believes that he could not send more for lack of transportation. He assured me that nothing has been sent by land, nor is it possible to do so because of the danger of attack from the Cherokees and Creeks. He concluded by saying that Piomingo came with many Indians to receive the present, and that he returned to the Nation, and that General Robertson's son and two other Americans of little importance had gone to Cumberland by land.

In view of this, and the fact that we must wait for the decision of the Court on the results of the negotiations with the United States, I thought it best not to take any notice of this matter, especially since he came down in good faith and with the knowledge of the commandant at New Madrid, which I infer from the last correspondence of the said commandant, which, in conformity to your instructions, I opened.

I do not know from what source the commandant of Walnut Hills has heard that the present of the Americans to the Chickasaw was much larger, for he mentioned fifteen hundred bushels of corn, four light mounted cannon, known as *Arañas* [spiders], along with many other munitions, and that by land they had sent many things, and a large enough number of cattle to give every Indian a quarter of beef.

I have already told you what the said Hinds told me which dispelled even the probability of such a present

As for the news about the Indians I refer to what Hinds himself will have told Your Lordship.

God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, June 3, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO, BOUKFOUKA, JUNE 8, 1793[17]

I have the greatest satisfaction in informing you that affairs are moving toward the point to which I was directing them. I told you in my last letter[18] that Ben James had left for the Chickasaws, and that I had written to

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[16] Elijah Robertson. See *Publications* No. 32, pp. 80-81, 83.

[17] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353

[18] Villebeuvre to Gayoso, May 25, 1793, printed in *Publications* No. 32, pp. 89-92.

Ogoulayacabe[19] about the Assembly and about coming to the Choctaws for the peace treaty with the Creeks. This has been entirely successful[20] and Ogoulayacabe should be here within five nights, which will be the 13th or 14th of this month, and Taboca on the 19th if he is not delayed. I presume that we can arrive at the place of the Assembly on the 4th or 6th at the latest. As I indicated to you in my last letter, Piomingo is with the other chiefs and sent his talk to the other Chiefs for fear they had left, but said he was going direct. He has accepted the peace as you will see from the talk that I am sending enclosed, which you will have the goodness to pass on to the Governor General. You will note that he said it is because he stands alone, and that he could not do otherwise. He was obliged to return, and we are happy that Ogoulayacabe has been able to arrange things in his absence so that when he returned from Chickasaw Bluffs all the Chiefs and warriors were disposed toward peace, and it seems that his talk has fallen down; it is impossible to refuse Ogoulayacabe anything he wants, for letters have arrived to him from Governor Blount,[21] and from Robertson's son who has come with corn, inviting the chief to his home. He refused, saying that the Spaniards had invited him a long time ago and he wanted to hear what they had to say, but that he would give him a trustworthy man to go home with him. I have this day had the pleasure of seeing the orders and dispositions of the governor general and Your Lordship, and I have given them the direction they should have, and Mr. Fooy,[22] the interpreter Mr. Favre,[23] and the Commissary and I are doing everything possible to carry them out. The journey of Mr. Panton[24] to the Creek Nation under my orders has had a very good effect, and Mr. Ben James conducted himself very well on the journey he made to the Cherokees,[25] I am greatly pleased with him.

It remains for me to tell you that at present the principal Choctaw chiefs have recently met with me and told me that they did not want to go to the Assembly, that they were dying of hunger and only wanted something to eat, that the Spaniards had sent some corn to the Chickasaws and Creeks, but had paid no attention to them (because until the present they had done all that had been requested of them) and that a father who let his child die of hunger when he had food to give him did not love him, and finally they had conducted themselves well toward the Chickasaws, who for the same reason had treated them like dogs and the Cherokees would have done the same if they had had horses. I saw in a moment that they did not want to go to the Assembly, and that it was necessary for me to make every effort and I finally succeeded.

They find it very extraordinary that you only invite fifty Chiefs, and when I had told the the reason, they did not want to agree with it. I did not know how to make them understand that only two chiefs should go from each large

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[19] Also Ougoulayacabe, a Chickasaw chief.

[20] James succeeded in getting the Choctaws and Chickasaws to make peace on June 1, 1793. Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1673-1794,* 3 parts, Vols. II, III, IV, *Annual Report,* American Historical Association (Washington, D. C., 1949), Part III, xxix, 164-67.

[21] Governor William Blount of the Southwest Territory.

[22] Benjamin Fooy, a trader, had been appointed special agent to the Chickasaws. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, xxx.

[23] Simon Favre, a trader among the Choctaws. *Ibid.,* xv.

[24] William Panton, of Panton, Leslie, and Company.

[25] Reference must have been to Ben James's recent journey to the Choctaw Nation where he got them to make peace at Longtown on June 1. He had not been to the Cherokee country.

village and one from each small village. That will make a total of 84 present if they do not have any warriors with them. Finally I will do everything possible to have as few go as possible, but I cannot determine the exact number, and all that I can tell you is that at the Assembly it will be necessary to treat them with the same distinction as the others, for they are a people full of jealousy, and are disposed to cause us a lot of trouble. What I have experienced during the last few days makes me think that the few chiefs you have invited will go without taking their warriors. They wish to say the same of the treaty, that they would come with me to Fort Tombigbee, and go from there to America and that at their head would be one named Mingo Pouscouche,[26] Great Medal Chief of the village of Conchak who leads almost the whole Nation and who returned discontented from New Orleans. He does not want to go to the Ball Ground. He says that the Governor rejected him and that he is not a child, but I urged him and promised him that I would present him to you and that you would do what he wanted. He has consented to go and should leave with me to see you, and for this reason you can count on his going with his people, and that he will not oppose the object of the Assembly or favor the desires of the Americans. The Letters from Governor Blount to Piomingo have only had the following importance according to the report of Ben James. They had written to General Washington[27] on the subject and they had received his reply which had been made known to them, which stated that he received their talk, and would give them the present promised to them. He also said that he was vexed at the war which they are carrying against the Creeks, but that they could go and take a little revenge for the wrongs done them, that he was forming an army to go and strike the Northern Indians which would be very disappointing to them. The Americans who have come to bring the corn are under Robertson's son and have not said anything bad about the Spaniards, but on the contrary have told Piomingo that he would do well to go and see the whites who were also their friends.

As I was about to close my letter there arrived at my house Cathias Opaye, Great Medal Chief of the Deux Bayous and charged by the other chiefs to tell me to inform you that Piomingo would go to the Assembly with all of the Chickasaw Nation, that it was necessary to satisfy this chief and his warriors so he would not return disgusted and too many people follow him, and that he would talk strongly there because he had not departed from the Americans, and that the four Nations would never place themselves under the authority of His Catholic Majesty, but that he knew that if there was any discontent on one part or the other it would be only in the hope that you would have merchandise sent from the city to satisfy them, and that you will write to that effect to the Governor General. I doubt not that Piomingo will bring all his people with him and will without doubt ask the Choctaws to do the same for the reason that if they are not satisfied he will be able to tell the people that it would be better to treat with the Americans, and to tell the same to the Choctaws to win them away from serving us, a thing of which he is perfectly capable. It is necessary to prevent this coup of his and I forewarn you for that purpose.

May God keep you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, June 8, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

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[26] Choctaw chief.

[27] President of the United States.

P. S. Franchimastabe[28] came to my house during the last few days and told me that he did not want to go to the Assembly, that he had very many things and had no horses. I told him I had one he could ride. He replied that he would [let me know] at the time of departure, and did not wish to tell me before. He is piqued along with Ytelaghana and Red Shoes of Castachas,[29] which forms a thorn against the Assembly on the part of one or the other. I wish to reconcile them. Ytelaghana has promised to go, but Franchimastabe is adamant and does not understand reason. I hope nevertheless that he will go because Piomingo does. Same date as the above.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JUNE 8, 1793[30]

No. 3

About the projected Assembly —

About the middle of April there arrived here a party of eleven Chickasaws guided by the son of Ogoulayacabe, bringing me a letter from the latter in which Taskihatoka, King of that Nation, also writes an addition. At the end of this letter there is a postscript in the same handwriting, which I suppose is from both of them, all of which appears in the original included under No. 1.[31]

From the same route I received a letter from Hardy Perry, which is Document No. 1.[32]

The petition of Ogoulayacabe reduces itself to asking for food and war material, because his people find themselves assaulted by hunger and by the Creek Nation, of which I was previously informed; but in order to proceed with all possible information I cited the Chickasaw Indians to come with the letters so as to be able to question them about the origin of the war and the other happenings in that Nation. Also attending was Chief Red Shoes of the Choctaw Nation who arrived at the same time. The first group informed me that last autumn some Creeks, finding themselves on the frontiers of Cumberland, one of them coveted a gun that the other had, and not being able to obtain it on good terms, killed him without any of his own people seeing it, and to cover up his crime, attributed it to the Chickasaws. On the belief that the aggressor was a Chickasaw, the relatives of the dead man took vengeance by killing the first warrior of Piomingo, from which resulted the animosity that exists today; the Chickasaws killed another Creek, and the latter came, among other parties, one of four men with the intention of making an attack on the Chickasaw Nation, and being at a short distance from Hardy Perry's house, tried this matter in front of a woman that they thought was a Choctaw, but who was in reality a Chickasaw by birth, who slipped away by night and informed some Chickasaws. The following day the four Creeks arrived at Hardy Perry's house, who, knowing who they were, regaled and entertained them in order to advise some of his Chickasaw friends, which he was able to do in time to arrive at his house and surprise the Creeks and kill three of them, the other escaping because he was a Chickasaw although he was living in the Creek Nation.

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[28] Choctaw chief.

[29] This Choctaw chief should not be confused with the Coosada chief of the same name in the Creek Nation. Ytelaghana was another Choctaw chief.

[30] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[31] This communication is not available, but Carondelet to Gayoso, June 17, 1793 (printed in Kinnaird [ed.], *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 175-77) comments on it and on the contents of Gayoso's letter of June 8, 1793.

[32] The letter from Perry, a trader among the Choctaws, is not available.

I questioned them about whether Piomingo had been able to succor the Americans; they answered that, since the Chickasaws were a small Nation compared with the Creeks, they feared the latter would destroy them so it was necessary to look for help in all directions, and that they had been successful with Governor Blount or with Robertson, but they had not for this reason closed their ears to the talks of the Spaniards.

Red Shoes took the talk and spoke to me in the following terms: that on learning that these Chickasaws were coming to ask help from me they hurried to be here with them; that although he was not the first chief of his Nation, he believed he was as important as Franchimastabe for the latter neglected all the business that interested them, for which reason he had come to say that it was the desire of all the Choctaw Nation that I take charge of making peace between the Chickasaws and the Creeks; that I should not do this as some English governors had previously done who had split a ball in two, giving one half to the Creeks and the other to the Chickasaws and giving them to understand by this that they were promoting war between them under the guise of friendship; that the Chickasaws and Choctaws were like brothers, and for this reason spoke on these terms, and also because they desired to keep peace but were sorry that the Creeks mistreated their brothers; that I should consider all the Indian Nations as sons, and that it was happening now as is the case when there are many sons and one of them strives unjustly with his brothers, in which case the Father does not abandon him but corrects him so that he will return to be in harmony with the rest; and that this is the case of the Creeks; to which he added other reasons which did not change what he had previously said.

I showed the Chickasaws that the present difficulties arose from the disunion in their own Nation, part of which listened to the talks of its true King, while the others followed Piomingo and would not hear them, from which it followed that some of them pursued one line of conduct and some another, so that many times the greater part of the Nation suffered because of the small group which follows Piomingo, which happens when all the Nation fails to listen to the same talk.

Without difficulty the Chickasaws agreed that what I said was true, and even let it be known that they disapproved of Piomingo's conduct.

Seeing this good disposition, I told them what was convenient for our policy, which was accepted and approved by Red Shoes.

I told them that, since the desire of their Nation was what would promote peace, they had no need for munitions, and that for the same reason Your Lordship had refused them to the Creeks; that if I gave them any such help it would be sufficient reason for the Creeks to complain that they refused to make peace; so that I was going to give them the kind of help they needed in the form of food, and that I would add something so the Chickasaw Nation would know that I looked on them as sons.

Since I knew that this was a very critical occasion because they were sure to compare my conduct with that of the Americans from whom I was sure Piomingo had requested help, and since this was the moment to win them over, I decided to send the King's boat to them with five hundred bushels of corn, some limbourg, vermillion, and some other bagatelles; all of which Your Lordship will see from the enclosed relation which is Document No. 3.[33]

At the same time, without openly giving them munitions, I supplied them by sending to the King of the Chickasaws what I had left here at the time of

[33] Document not available.

the treaty, which I could not very well refuse, but to send them at this time was to give importance to the King of the Chickasaws, who with powder and ball could win over to his party even the followers of Piomingo. Likewise I sent the present which the said King had left in New Orleans, and which Your Lordship sent to me, all of which appears in Document No. 4.[34]

To the party of the Chickasaws that for the first time had come to see the Spaniards, being of those that follow Piomingo like Ogoulayacabe, I gave a nice present, and sent them by water to the Yazoo to a place called Yakony Patafan, which is farther up than the Ball Ground.

I have answered separately Ogoulayacabe, the King of the Chickasaws, and Hardy Perry, and I have also written to John Turnbull and to Benjamin Fooy that which you will see in numbers 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.[35]

I have written also to Don Elias Beauregard, the commandant at Walnut Hills, so that when the boat passes there he shall embark in it a certain Glass[36] and another worker; the first because he knows the place called Yakony Patafan, and the other because he can serve as interpreter, while both of them can assist the master of the boat in delivering the things he carries.

On the journey from here to Walnut Hills one of the Indians was drowned because of his own fault, and no complaint had been made about it.

Arrived at their destination, part of the Indians went to advise the Nation and the rest remained there waiting for them, and since this is the place where Turnbull will soon have his store, many Indians had gathered there and were most happy for the gift of corn, which was deposited on land until the rest arrive.

On the road to the Chickasaws Turnbull heard that the King of the Chickasaws and some other chiefs were coming by another route, on which he returned to his store and called together there the most important chiefs who were near and read them a talk, which they praised very much, and agreed to come to the Assembly at the Ball Ground, after which Turnbull charged Mongulachamingo,[37] the man of most importance, with distributing in the Nation the sticks that would indicate the day the Assembly would meet, on the supposition that there would be no inconvenience in holding it the last day of the month. Having also disposed of the goods he returned here bringing along the King of the Chickasaws, his first warrior, and two other chiefs who assured me of their desire to contribute to the measures I had proposed; and without anything interesting happening they have gone with Turnbull to Baton Rouge to pass the time and arrive opportunely at the Ball Ground for the Assembly, coming by here and by Walnut Hills when they return.

Fifteen days after the Chickasaws and Red Shoes were here, Itelaghana came to see me accompained by many people, begging my pardon, explaining that he left secretly from the Nation but that on the road he had been discovered by some who advised others, so that he arrived here with a much greater number of people than he wanted, but the importance of the matter would excuse this.

He said that he came on the part of his Nation to interest me in making peace between the Chickasaws and the Creeks, assuring me that they did not

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[34] Document not available.

[35] Gayoso to Turnbull, April 7, 1793, is printed in *Publications* No. 31, pp. 72-75. The others, similar in content, are in A.G.I.,P.C., 2353 (photostats in the McClung Collection).

[36] Unidentified.

[37] Also Mongoulachamingo, a Chickasaw chief.

want to take part in the war in spite of the fact that the Chickasaws had invited them to do so, sending three red knives as a sign that they were asking for help. He presented me with some strings of beads with trimmings showing the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek Nations with their different paths, the first three white and the other red and broken; requesting me to make white this path that joined New Orleans with their Nations, adding a thousand things along this line that were unnecessary because if he had remained in his Nation he would have learned through Don Juan de la Villebeuvre that Your Lordship and I are working to get the Nations at peace, but, since it was not best under the circumstances to offend him, for in spite of the fact that he is a very importunate and interested man, he is a man of influence and capable of taking revenge by causing a revolution in the minds of the Choctaws, I over came my disgust and gave him the present that was his due from the Treaty of Walnut Hills, and also some things to his people, exhausting with this present the goods that are here except what are destined for the Assembly.

Shortly before Itelaghana arrived the principal chief of the Six Villages, Mistichico,[38] was here informing me that the Chickasaws had sent to his party a red knife for them to join in the war against the Creeks, but that he was determined to maintain peace, and he begged me to reconcile the Nations that were at war.

I informed him that I was working to that end, and dismissed him with one of the presents that correspond to the treaty held here, since he is one of the principal men of his Nation.

Since it was not possible to arrange things to hold the Assembly at the end of this month as I had planned, for although I know that the Creeks are disposed toward peace, and that during this month they are to meet with the Chickasaws in the Choctaw Nation to smoke the peace pipe, I have had no positive advice about what the King's Commissary in the Creek Nation has done as a result of my advices to him, so I could not risk going to the Ball Ground with the uncertainty about whether or not the Creeks would come; and lacking these positive advices, it is impossible for me to take measures for them to come: so I beg Your Lordship to please inform me when the Creeks will go to the Assembly, with which information I can advise the other Nations, and since Your Lordship has charged me with conducting this affair, it will be well to warn the King's Commissaries in the Indian Nations that they are not the ones to indicate the day of the Assembly, but that they are to dispose their Nations to await word from me, which is exactly what they should do about this business.

In view of what I have recounted I have found it necessary to write to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations warning them to await new advices in which the exact day of the Assembly will be fixed.

I can do no less than inform you that Taboca has comported himself perfectly on this occasion, traveling very much to reconcile the Creeks and Chickasaws, having gone himself to the Creek Nation.

Everything has a favorable aspect just now, and in addition to what I have recounted to you, Your Lordship will learn of the state of things from the enclosed letter from Benjamin Fooy.

The letter which John Turnbull carried for Bloody Fellow[39] he was unable to send him when in the Chickasaw Nation because there was nobody

[38] A Choctaw chief.
[39] A Cherokee chief.

who would dare go to the Cherokee Nation, but he left it with Ogoulayacabe to send if the opportunity presented itself, unless Bloody Fellow himself stops in the Chickasaw Nation some day or other.

I have omitted to inform Your Lordship of some other particulars which, although interesting to me in this matter, are not important enough to occupy Your Lordship's attention.

May God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, June 8, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

BRASHEARS TO GAYOSO, CHOCTAWS, JUNE 10, 1793[40]

No. 4

Sir

Friend I Rec[e]ived your letter which gaves me a grate deel of Sattisfaction to heare from you Acording to your Request I have don and your Friends is mutch Pleased at your talk and the Chicasaws Likewise and Says that tha [they] take you More to be thare Friends now then Ever for tha See you wish them well I Expect you will have a Grate number of this Nation to See you— Inglesh Will[41] Says you told him to bring all his People with him young And Old and all the Indians of the uper towns talks of Going old Snagle[42] Is Expected from the Creeks in Eight Days from now I Hope to have the Pleasure of Seeing you at the Ball Ground I have no furin nuse to tell you of Onley Cornel Robertsen Sun has bin in to the Chicakasaws but his talks I Have not heard yet—

I Expect PoyaMingo will be to See you in afew Days he is on his Jorney to Natches and Oliyouokubbia Is to be heare to Meate old Snagle from the Creeks tha ar all willing for Peace Sir if you Can Make it Convent [convenient] to Bring me Sum Provisions Sutch as Flourer you will Oblige me mutch for Provisions is very Cearse [scarce] heare we ar all on the Point of Deth for the want of Provisions I Beleave that I Cant full fill My Promis I have Sarch and inquire but I Cant fiend it Old Snagle had it Last and I suppose has mislaid it it is not out of Neglect that you hant Got it is not in my Power to find it So no more But Still

Remain with Esteame
your Efectinet friend
and umble Servent
Turner Brashears

Manuel Gayoso delemos
June 10 th 1793

Natches

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JUNE 14, 1793[43]

No. 305.

Mr. John Hinds, about whom I wrote to Your Lordship in a letter of June 3 of this month in No. 299,[44] informs me that he left behind a flatboat belonging

[40] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353. For the background of Turner Brashears see *Publications* No. 27 (1955), 87n, and Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, xv-xvi. Franchimastabe lived near him and relied heavily on his counsel.

[41] For this Choctaw chief see Blount to Franchimastabe and English Will, *ibid.,* 8.

[42] Old Snagle of the Creeks.

[43] A.G.I.,P.C., 42.

[44] Printed above.

to him because it had suffered damage, from which he had to throw into the water two hundred bushels of corn. This boat has just arrived here and goes on to that Capital and its Captain Andrew Inoddy declares that, in addition to the corn which he carried to Chickasaw Bluffs on orders of General Robertson for the Chickasaw Indians, he sold on Hinds' account some two hundred bushels, and that he now has on board only about one hundred and ninety bushels which he carries to that city, with two hundred bear skins, all of which is stated in his passport.

May God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, June 14, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

HINDS TO CARONDELET, NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 14, [1793?][45]

Señor Governor and Intendant General

Mr. John Hinds, a native of the Kingdom of Ireland and at present a resident of this place, with the greatest respect presents himself to Your Lordship and says: That he wishes to settle in this Country with the rest of his family which consists of two sons and a daughter, who are in the Province of Pennsylvania except one which has resided in this province more than a year; desiring also to depart completely from said Province of Pennsylvania, transferring his goods to this place, and becoming a vassal of His Catholic Majesty: for which reason: To Your Lordship he humbly begs that you will permit him to bring down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers the remainder of his family and goods which consists of Negroes, Provisions etc., A grace that he hopes to receive from the goodness of Your Lordship.

New Orleans, June 14, [1793]

John Hinds

[A note on the margin states:]

New Orleans, June 14, 1792[46]

Granted in the terms requested.

El Baron de Carondelet

(rubric)

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JUNE 20, 1793[47]

No. 4.

About the prospective Assembly.

I have just received a letter from Don Juan de la Villebeuvre in which was the one which is enclosed for Your Lordship which I send under No. 1; and mine was accompanied by the enclosed copy No. 2 of the talks that passed in the Chickasaw Nation, which he charged me to forward to you.[48]

I am also sending a copy of what he writes me under No. 3[49] so

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[45] A.G.I.,P.C., 42.

[46] Carondelet's note on the margin mistakenly dated this in 1792.

[47] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[48] This seems to refer to "Indian Speeches Made at Long Town June 1, 1793," printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 164-67 (photostat in the McClung Collection). No. 1 is not available.

[49] Villebeuvre to Gayoso, June 8, 1793, above.

that Your Lordship may be perfectly informed of the occurrences of the day with respect to the Indians and the projected Assembly.[50]

Your Lordship already sees the critical situation in which we find ourselves, for in spite of all I have done to have only a few attend, I believe I will find myself surrounded by more than two thousand Indians. Their maintenance will not embarrass me, for I have sufficient corn and bacon, and I trust there will be no lack of fresh meat; but it is a matter of great importance to satisfy as many chiefs as I foresee will go, for although I have warned them and fixed the number, it is vain to count on the Indians conforming on a point like this. The nature of these Indians is to adjust themselves to whatever is demanded of them, even in things of greatest importance if they are gratified according to their caprice. It is impossible in such case to fix the quantity of goods needed; it is less prejudicial to the interests of the King to cause him some extraordinary expenses, and that ten pieces of Limbourg be left over, than that one be lacking, even when they have been given a present of twenty thousand pesos, for they pay no attention to the benefits received, but only notice that all have not left content. This is going to happen now, for what Don Juan de la Villebeuvre says is the pure truth, and to want to reason with the Indians is to lose time, for they understand no reason other than that to which they have been habituated, and those who must treat with them have to follow their system or not begin to negotiate with them at all, but how is it possible to fail to understand the present affairs without risking the separation of these Nations from our interests? It is certain that if for one moment we let slip the hand of the Indian Nations allied to us, they will go immediately to the Americans and to the English. Your Lordship is informed of the measures the latter are practicing with the Talapuches, or Creeks, and the first with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, without the conduct of the Americans giving any motive for lodging a complaint against them, for without speaking ill of us they regale the Indians with presents to draw them to their interests, and when this is done we can count on them no longer.

The conduct of Piomingo on this occasion is the only recourse left to him to restore his reputation, which at the moment is wavering; he thinks to put us under the necessity of satisfying many people by taking with him a great part of the Nation, and by inciting all the Choctaws to go. If there is nothing with which to satisfy them he will succeed in his effort and have no difficulty in persuading his people to follow the Americans, but if I have enough to reasonably satisfy them he will be defeated and the Americans will lose all hope of attracting them.

When Your Lordship first thought about this Assembly there was no war between the Creeks and the Chickasaws; after this negotiation was begun, and war started which has made an infinite change in circumstances so that a moderate present that would have been sufficient before is not enough now; nor was it possible to abandon this negotiation without risking complaint and discontent from the Indians who do not measure things like civilized Nations, either in time or in circumstances. The Assembly was arranged for a set time which it has since been necessary to change for reasons of economy which Your Lordship has pointed out to me, and as a result I sent out all the necessary notices. Under date of May 15 I wrote to Don Juan de la Villebeuvre, and among other things told him what is in the following two paragraphs:

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[50] See Gayoso's letters of June 20 to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation and to Ougoulayacabe and Mongoulachamingo, both printed below.

"Since the letter that you say you have received from Davenport explains all that is being thought of for the Assembly, I omit to repeat it, simply changing the time indicated in it for holding the meeting, the cause being that for good reasons the Governor General fears that the Creeks and Chickasaws might meet on the way to the Ball Ground and commit hostilities, so the Governor General has thought best to have some of the principal chiefs of the Creek Nation go to New Orleans, sending them there by water, from which they will go to the Yazoo: this idea is good, and will be agreeable to them, and the time that will be necessary for them to arrive here must be taken into consideration: nevertheless, Your Grace will have ready the individuals of the Nation who are to go to it, for as soon as I have word from the Governor General that the Creeks have left I will send you word about the exact day it will be held, which will not vary much from that which was indicated, the difference being only a month more or less."

"The number of Choctaws who should go to the Assembly will be fifty, including twenty of the principal chiefs, and although six or more others wish also to go Your Grace will offer no objection, but if the number is great you will oppose their going."

Since Your Lordship has already received previous instructions you will understand from what he writes that on the 4th or 6th an immense number of chiefs would be at the Ball Ground and I see no way of preventing their attendance.

I have received similar advices from the Chickasaw Nation, but since all of them are going to the Choctaw Nation to treat of peace, I have no doubt but that they will disregard my warnings to them and go to the Ball Ground: I have no option but to be there on the 6th, but I also foresee that, in spite of what Don Juan de la Villebeuvre writes, he may reflect on my repeated advices, and order them not to go; and finally, my greatest embarrassment is that the presents I have on hand may be insufficient to satisfy such a large number of people.

I have decided to send everything to Walnut Hills, and as soon as I have the first notice from Your Lordship of the departure of Creeks, and from Don Juan de la Villebeuvre of the departure of the others, I shall go down to the place of the Assembly immediately, and in order to avoid the difficulties that threaten, I am going to send back today the Indian that brought the letters from Don Juan de la Villebeuvre, warning him that, if the three Nations are met there, to have them all meet at the Ball Ground on the 20th of next month, which will give me time to receive an express reply from Your Lordship if you see fit to send me more goods direct to Walnut Hills, for if I know they are coming it will make it possible for me to satisfy the Indians. In this case it is necessary for you to send not only Limbourg, shirts, white beads, and vermillion, but some coats and hats to dress some chiefs.

I am also sending enclosed the original of a letter from Franchimastabe, and another from Turner Brashears,[51] under numbers 4 and 5. The first recommended to me the bearer of the letter, and says that he will see me at the Assembly. The second says that Piomingo is coming to Natchez to see me: I think he has confused this with the journey to the Ball Ground; he also tells me that Ytelaghana has published in the Nation that I had charged him to take all of his people to the Assembly, old and young; this is a great trick on his

[51] Brashears to Gayoso, June 10, 1793, is printed above. That to Franchimastabe is not available.

part, for I told him the same thing that I told Don Juan de la Villebeuvre, but until the said Assembly meets his rascality cannot be exposed.

Taboca has conducted himself well on this occasion, and the same is true of all the Whites in both Nations, and the conduct of Panton makes him worthy of the greatest consideration.

I beg that Your Lordship will reply by special letter, for I am taking measures to leave for Walnut Hills within fifteen days.

May God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, June 20, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

GAYOSO TO THE CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE CHICKASAW NATION, NATCHEZ,[52] JUNE 20, 1793

Copy

3

To the Chiefs & Warriors of the Chicacha Nation

My Friends and Brothers.

Some time ago as I had a great deal to say to your Nation and to those of the Creeks, Chactas [Choctaws], and Cherokees I apointed an Assembly for the last day of this month and I send to you my talks by Mr. Turnbull.[53] When he was gone, the war between you & Creeks became very serious, and it would be imprudent to assemble the Nations before your disputies [disputes] were settled, I then wrote again to your Nation to put off the Assembly for an other day, but by that time Mr. Turnbull was on his way to return here and Mr. Fooy been in the Chacta Nation I do not know whether you received my advice. I again wrote to Ugulayacabe mingo & Mongulachamingo desireing them to throw away the sticks that Mr. Turnbull had given, and to wait for now [new] ones that I should send to appoint the other day for our meeting on the Ball ground at the Yazu [Yazoo]. Since I am informed that the endeavours of The Governor of New Orleans, mine, and those of the Chacta Nation have succeeded, and that happyly you have made peace with Creeks, and that all your troubles are at an end, and that you are to meet in the Chacta Nation to shake hands, and smoak a pipe together; I have heard likewise that you all intended to go from thence immediately to meet me at the Ball ground; but how can you expect to see me there when I live so far off if you do not wait for my advice? You know that there is nothing to be had if I do not carry it with me, therefore I must have at least one month to send the provisions that will be wanted; besides I am a Man that always tells the truth and from the begining I always said that I only wanted there some Chiefs, their attendants, & Confidents to treat about matters of the greatest importance to all the Red people, and that I did not call the Nations for the only purpose of giving them presents, however as the Concurrents were to be few that I should carry something for them, therefore if a great many goes it will be their own choise and they can not expect presents as I am not prepaired for it.

The day that I now apoint to meet at the Ball ground is the 6. or 8.[54] of the month of August which will be about the first day that the Moon appears

[52] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[53] Gayoso to Turnbull, April 7, 1793, *Publications* No. 31, pp. 72-75.

[54] The meeting was finally held in October at Walnut Hills resulting in the treaty on the 28th, of which more later. The treaty is translated in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 223-27.

again after the next. The White Men that you have in your Nation will tell you the day that I mean, therefore divide Sticks among your selves for that time.

You all know me and likewise know that nobody loves the Red people so much as I do therefore you must be sur that I am very happy to see you quiet without apprehending any danger from abroad. I give you all my hand in prooff of the sincere friendship of = Your most affectionate Brother = Manuel Gayoso deLemos = Natchez the 20th. June 1793.

[Translation]

This is the same as the original which was sent to the Interested parties, a copy of which is placed in the Archives of this Secretariat under my charge: I certify this in Natchez on June 20, 1793.

J[osep]h Vidal

GAYOSO TO OUGOULAYACABE AND MONGOULACHAMINGO, NATCHEZ, JUNE 20, 1793[55]

Copy
5.

To Ugulayacabemingo & Mongulachamingo.

My Dear Friends & Brothers

By a Man that was going from hence to America, I wrote to you to let you know that it was impossible to meet at the Assembly the day appointed by Mr. Turnbull, because the disturbances that there was between you & the Creeks hindered my talks from going about in time, therefore I desired you to keep at home untill you received an other advice from me.

It was with great joy that I heared that the troubles of war were over between you & the Creeks, and that you was to meet in the Chacta [Choctaw] Nation to shake hands & smoak the pipe of peace. I likewise heared that the Chactas intended to go immediately to the Ball ground to meet me, but how can they find me there if they don't wait my advice. I live far off and must have time to send provisions there for you know that there is nothing and that I must carry every thing.

You know that from my first advice about the Assembly I always sayed that it was not a meeting to give presents that I only wanted to see some Chiefs of each Nation with their Attendants & Confidents to treat about the good of all the Red people, & that for a small number I should have some thing handsome to give to them, but I find now that a great many people wants to go there and in such a case they are not to expect that I should give them presents for I shall only give those that I have to the persons that [*sic*] intended them for; I am not witch that can do things unexpectedly, therefore if more people goes than what I desired it will be for their own pleasure.

Now the peace is made & I supose that many Creeks are in the Chacta Nation it will be the best to have the Assembly as soon as posible therefore I wrote to Mr. Lavillebeuvre our Commissary to set off from the place where he is the last day of next month to arrive at the Ball ground the 6. or 8. of August that is the first day that the new moon will be seen in August. The white people in your Nation will explain to you the day that I mean and so I need not send bundles or sticks because doing it from hence some mistake might happen.

I wish you well & wish for the day of the Assembly to have the pleasure of seeing you and assure you that nobody love you more than = Your most affec-

[55] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

tionate Friend and Brother = Manuel Gayoso de Lemos = Natchez the 20th. June 1793

[Translation]

This is the same as the original which was sent to the Interested parties, a copy of which is placed in the Archives of this Secretariat under my charge: I certify this in Natchez on June 20, 1793.

J[osep]h Vidal

McDONALD TO PANTON, CHEROKEES, JUNE 22 [1793?] (EXTRACT)[56]

Extract from John McDonalds letter to Mr. Panton dated the 22nd. June

I received Your favour by Walton[57] but the want of paper prevented me from writing You by him — The whole nation are just now in the utmost Confusion owing to the Barbarous behaviour of the Americans on the Frontiers — A few days Since a party Composed of fifty Men invaded the Nation & Killed Seven Indians on the Spott and wounded five more, two of them mortally — Amongst the dead is poor charles of Chickamago one of the chiefs who accompanied the Bloody fellow to Pensacola last fall — This took place at the hanging Maws Hous[e] near Toka Tenessee River[58] — These Indians went to Barter their furrs & Considered themselves perfectly Secure from all danger especially So as no provocation had been given by the Cherokees Since the Winter & whatever they might have done before appeared to have been overlooked by the face of the numerous letters Sent by Govr. Blunt [Blount] to the nation inviting them to a treaty authorized by Congress. Finding that a treaty Could not be brought about he then endeavoured hard to get Some of the Headmen to accompany him to Philadelphia but without effect — Some of them it is true had Consented to make that tour with the Governor, but were easily deswaded [dissuaded] from it win [when] I came to represent the folly of accompanying their destroyer — Since this outrage was Committed it appears clearly that Blunts drift in inviting the chiefs to a treaty was with a view of detaining them a[s] hostages — a very despicable way of obtaining them — Govr. Blunt did not know in reality but what a number of Headmen was Come agreeable to his invitation & wish — he accordingly affected to treat them with uncommon Civillity and ordered a quantity of Whisky Beef & flour to be brought to the Hanging Maws House for the use of such as might Come there & those Indians were Actually drunk with the Whisky when the horrid murder was Committed upon them — It is however to be observed that the Americans were given to understand before they Commenced this Massacre that the Indians had declined going to Philadelphia — a General Congress of the Nation are now met at Ustonallie[59] one of the Beloved Towns but their determination will be too late for to be given to You by the Bearer who waits for this — Signed J McDonald

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[56] A.G.I.,P.C., 208. For John McDonald see *Publications* No. 32, p. 72n.

[57] Probably Robert Walton, the "decent" son of that "old Rebel Villain" of Tombigbee, and who had settled in Pensacola in 1789 to escape the father. For the father and two sons see McGillivray to Panton, May 20, 1789, D. C. Corbitt (ed. & trans.), "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXI (September, 1937), 283-88.

[58] For this attack on the pro-American Chief Hanging Maw's home at Chota on the Little Tennessee see Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South* (Athens, Ga., 1956), 44, and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* 2 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1832-34), I, 383-405.

[59] Ustanali, a Cherokee town on the Coosa River in northwest Georgia.

BENTON WHITE'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Edited by
JAMES R. MONTGOMERY

Benton White has enjoyed a long and eventful seventy-seven years of life; but some of the most action-packed years of it occurred during his student days at The University of Tennessee. As a high jinks artist of remarkable ability, he could be counted upon to be involved, or nearly involved, in everything from football, dynamiting a part of a dormitory, to attempting to drown the members of a farmers' convention visiting the University. The beat, lost, fiery, or what-have-you, generations of later students have, or will have, to go a long way to equal the record of school spirit and liveliness in general of White and his contemporaries.

In order to obtain materials for a history of The University of Tennessee, 1887-1919, the editor sent a questionnaire to several alumni of the University who graduated around the beginning of the twentieth century.[1] One alumnus, when he returned his answers to the questionnaire, also wrote:

> If you have not sent an inquiry to Benton White, I suggest you send him one. A Fraternity Brother of mine—he was mixed up in almost everything that went on after hours.
>
> He only weighed about 130, yet he played leftend on the Varsity—was very fast. We played Maryville one year, some dispute arose during the game and it was forfeited to Maryville. They put the ball in their "Hall of Records" . . . .
>
> This infuriated the team and Benton White and a few of his pals went down to the Railroad yards, swiped an old fashioned Hand Car —pumped it over to Maryville, rescued the Ball and brought it home.[2]

A questionnaire was forwarded immediately to White, who more than lived up to this advanced billing when he returned a twenty-six page letter recalling his campus days. On campus from 1901 to 1904 and again from 1907 to 1910, White had the opportunity to observe the

[1] Many of the facts received from the alumni were incorporated into a history of U. T., "The University of Tennessee, 1887-1919" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1961).

[2] James McD. Shea to Montgomery, April 13, 1960.

personalities and the events which brightened the University for almost a decade. White, a native of Chattanooga, received a bachelor's and a law degree from U.T. and then returned to Chattanooga to practice law, gradually retiring from active practice about twenty-five years ago. An avid amateur radio operator, he has a room in his home filled with the latest types of equipment, and there he spends many hours a week.[3]

By way of introduction to White's letter about the University in the first decade of the twentieth century, a few of the major currents affecting the University might be reviewed. The institution which White recalls was only beginning to take on some of the features which now distinguish it. The 442 students who matriculated on the Knoxville campus in 1904[4] might be compared with the present enrollment of over 10,000 students. Beginning in 1902 and continuing until 1918, the giant Summer School of the South attracted national attention and annually enrolled around 2,000 teachers or prospective teachers. In 1904 there was a change of presidents, and five years after this an important reorganization of the Board of Trustees gave the entire state representation on the governing board of the University. These factors, plus an effort to carry its programs and research findings throughout Tennessee, began to cause the University to be recognized as truly a state-wide institution. Such recognition meant that after failing for years to provide any direct financial appropriation for U.T., the Tennessee general assembly would now begin to do so.

Living in a relatively small campus community, students knew the people with whom they worked or played. A worthy, and at times unworthy, cause could be relied upon to bring forth from the student majority a hearty, unqualified response. Hazing of the "fish" (freshmen) became a popular and "traditional" sport about the fall of 1901, and at approximately the same time, cane rushes and Halloween pranks appeared. Perhaps the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection contributed to student unrest. In any event, there existed more organized, or disorganized, play and school spirit for the decade after 1900 than ever before. Spartan living conditions and the comaraderie of a small integrated or homogeneous group helped to produce a devo-

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[3] *The Chattanooga Times,* January 7, 1961.
[4] *Biennial Report,* University of Tennessee, 1907, p. 13.

tion to the University which alumni often called "the spirit of the Hill."[5] Some of this spirit is recaptured in White's recollections.

This letter provides some unusual insights into a college community which only a few can still remember and which fewer are able to record so picturesquely. So, Benton White, once voted "the biggest liar" in the University,[6] now has the last say on his fellow students and the faculty of that era. Whether or not the material is embellished in a place or two in this narrative, the reader will have to decide—certainly there is substantial evidence to support most of it.

Chattanooga Tenn
July 24 1960

Dear Sir:—

I have your questionnaire dealing with life and events at The University of Tenn at the turn of the century, and herewith my answers to the 20 questions it contains.

Some of them credit me with a knowledge of current events, and a maturity of understanding that I do not recall having had during my undergraduate days. Perhaps this is one of the things that you wish to bring to light.

By way of autobiography, and as background for my answers, I graduated, (as valedictorian, so that I was well prepared scholastically), from the Chattanooga High School in 1901 and entered the University the following fall. I was to take an academic course and then, either at the University or elsewhere, a degree in law.

The reasons for choosing the University were practical ones, not particularly connected with its eminence as a seat of learning. It was geographically not too far from home, and I had an uncle and other relatives living in Knoxville at the time.

I was at the University three years; dropped out for three years; re-entered for three more years, and graduated from the Law Department in 1910. So that for the purposes of this questionnaire, and from the students[7] point of view, I knew pretty well what went on at the University for a decade.

I was a fraternity man (Alpha Tau Omega) ; was end on the football teams of 1907 and 1908 along with Walker Leach, "Piggy" Word and "Big" Daugherty [*sic*].[8] Students of a later vintage might not identify "Big" Daugherty as Dr Daugherty, for many years Dean of the Engineering Department, just lately retired. I also made the track team and the basket ball team and—scholastically—Phi Kappa Phi, the honor fraternity.

At the moment of writing I am 76 years of age; retired from the practice of law in Chattanooga; my memory and hearing are good; my heart is bad, and the type used herein is a commentary on my eyesight.[9]

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[5] Montgomery, "U. of T., 1887-1919," Chapter XIV.

[6] "Statistics," *The Volunteer* (Knoxville), 1904. This is the unpaged student annual.

[7] White rather consistently neglected to put in apostrophes. No additional effort will be made to call attention to this fact.

[8] Walker Leach, class of 1909; Roscoe Word, class of 1906 ,graduated in Law, 1907; N. W. Dougherty, class of 1909, joined the faculty of U. T. in 1916 and served as dean of engineering, 1940-1956.

[9] White used an oversized type (billing typewriter).

1.[10]

Chapel exercises were held in Science Hall. Attendance was required and you occupied a numbered seat. You could be permanently excused for a number of reasons; such as residence in the city, early classes, and the like. Dr Jordan, the Dean usually conducted the services, and they were simple and of short duration . . . 15 or 20 minutes.[11]

I cannot recall that students had any particular "attitude" towards this phase of college life . . . it was simply something that was required.

2.[12]

I have vigorous recollections of being hazed as a freshman, and of doing my share of it as a sophomore. Hazing was almost always done at night so that the "town fish", (freshmen living in the city), usually escaped. The hazing season did not last very long. A date was set for the annual "cane rush" approximately 2 weeks after school opened. For a week or ten days BEFORE the rush, fish were hazed vigorously, altho spasmodically . . . a bunch of sophs might invade one of the dormitories and flush a bunch of freshmen . . . or they might establish a kind of drag net and catch them on the campus.

The catch was often—tho not invariably—taken down in front of the coed dormitory Barbara Blount Hall, then a brand new building.[13] Here, before the darkened windows and for the edification of an invisible but giggling assembly of coeds, they were invited to "sing a song, make a speech, or shake a bush". No bushes were immediately available, but surprisingly, some of the hazees could both sing and talk. The penalty for being tongue tied or in poor voice, was to be paddled, made to run the gauntlet, stand on their head, etc.

I cannot remember that the hazing was of a dangerous nature, and it was usually taken in good part by all. The occasional fish who wanted to fight was immediately immobilized by superior numbers and ducked in the horse trough. Yes, at this early date, there was an out-sized watering trough on the curb at the northwest corner of the campus[14] . . . a few immersions would convince the rebellious fish of the error of his ways[.][15]

Then would come the cane rush between the freshman and sophomore classes. If the freshmen won, henceforth and officially they were exempt from hazing . . . otherwise, not. But as a matter of practice, the novelty had worn off, and there was little further hazing.

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[10] The number introduced the answer to each of the questions. Here the question asked was: "State the attitude of students toward chapel or assembly exercises."

[11] Dean Thomas Jordan was a member of the faculty, 1887-1907. The first dean to serve on the Knoxville campus, he held the title, "dean of the college." White frequently used three dots in place of a dash in this letter.

[12] "In the fall of 1901 or 1902, hazing returned to the Campus on a large scale compared with the 1890's. Also, there were cane rushes and Halloween pranks which took on real vigor and life. These continued for about ten years and then subsided or died completely. Have you recollections concerning these events or observations on why they came at this particular time?"

[13] Now called "Old" Blount, this building stands on the main campus to the west of Perkins Hall. It was first occupied in the fall of 1901.

[14] This site would be near the corner of Cumberland Avenue and Fifteenth Street and close to the location of Ellis and Ernest Drug Store.

[15] Hazing of freshmen, while it has never really disappeared from the campus, did decline somewhat after James D. Hoskins became dean of the collge in 1911. Expulsion and other disciplinary action simply made the price of being caught participating in hazing too high.

I have said that the hazing was rough but harmless horseplay. The cane rush was something else and usually produced a broken arm or two and "shiners" by the dozen. My own personal nose is slightly crooked to this day, souvenir of my participation as a sophomore.

The "cane" was a substantial section of a hickory hoe handle about 3½ feet long . . . significantly, an ordinary broom handle was considered too fragile! This was marked in some secret manner by the presidents of the junior and senior classes, so that a "ringer" could not be used. The rush started about 8:00 pm on the lower parade ground, which was level and about the size of a football field. The rules were simple.

Each class selected a brawny representative and these two, each with a double handhold on the cane, were placed in the center of the field. The opposing classes were lined up, facing each other, and about 50 feet each side of these two. At a signal they began to wrestle furiously for possession of the cane, and the two classes made a concerted rush for the cane and for each other. The idea, at this stage of the game, was to secure undisputed possession of the cane.

To WIN, a single person had to bring the cane onto the small extrance porch of Humes Hall Dormitory.[16] He could have a certain amount of help, but a flying wedge, with the cane holder in the centre, was out. Lights went out at 10:00 pm, so this automatically put a time limit on the endeavor.

Thus the rush usually divided itself into two parts. The first was the furious melee on the lower parade ground. A dense nucleus surrounded the cane, with a swirling border of winded, spent, damaged, slight-of-build or faint-of-heart students.

One way to break the deadlock, (and break noses), was for some party with more enthusiasm than brains to allow two huskies to grab him by the armpits and the seat of the pants, heave him up and over to come down on the cane and the hands holding it.

That's where I got mine. My trajectory was faulty and instead of coming down feet first on the cane, I came down face first on somebodys head.

Once sole possession was established, there came a much needed breathing spell. Both side[s] streamed hastily to Humes Hall and established what they hoped were strategic positions. It was unknown to the rank and file of each class, which side had the cane. That was a well kept and valuable secret of the few who had participated in the break away.

The sophs might try to form a cordon and eject all freshmen, or vice versa. There were fake rushes for the goal, rumors and alarms. Some stalwart might offer to wrestle any of the opposition that thought they were good. And so it went until by stratagem or force, or a combination of both, the rush was won.

Surprisingly, few tempers were lost, and a fist fight was almost unknown . . . it just simply, some way or other, wasnt done.[17]

There was one other "rush" . . . freshmen and sophs were not allowed to wear caps. But juniors could, and usually did, wear caps bearing their class numerals. After the second term began at New Years, (there were three terms then), and at a secret date determined by the sophs, a simultaneous effort was

[16] Located on the northeast side of the campus at about the present site of New Dabney Hall, Humes Hall was razed in 1950. The lower parade ground was on the west side of the Hill and included a portion of the area now occupied by the tennis courts.

[17] The rivalry of the cane rush became too keen, and the faculty put an end to that competition. *Orange and White,* March 12, 1909; *Knoxville Journal,* September 30, 1914. The *Orange and White* was a weekly (now twice a week) newspaper published by the students.

made to steal all of these caps. This could be done by stratagem, stealth, or "vi et armis"—as Virgil has it.

Coeds had to miss the excitement of the cane rush but they could get in on this one. I have a vivid memory of a furious scuffle in an otherwise empty class room in South College between Laura Thornburg, a junior, and Harriet Greve and another soph coed. The prize was Miss Thornburg's cap, and I was hovering nervously in the hall outside to run with the cap, if secured.

Miss Thornburg now lives in Gatlinburg and is the author of several well known books. Miss Greve? . . . well, she eventually became the dignified Dean of Women at the University!![18]

This rush provided a little excitement and broke the winter monotony. But it was never anything to compare with the cane rush.

4.[19]

Church attendance was not compulsory, but in chapel on Monday mornings those who had attended were asked to stand. I do not recall if any record was made of the number, or who they were.

Certain students, known to be confirmed "rounders", at one time aroused considerable curiousity [*sic*] by being regular standees on Monday mornings. The mystery was solved when we discovered that they interpreted the phrase "religious services" to be broad enough to take in the street services of the Salvation Army. Which did nothing to discount their reputations . . . the Army usually conducts its services in the less desirable parts of town.

5.[20]

Now you are asking me something that I dont know much about. Dr Dabney was popular with the students, but Dr Ayres not . . . at least, while I was there. I cant particularly remember why we didnt like him, but we didnt. If you have access to a copy of the 1909 "Volunteer", (there might be one in the University Library), turn to the drawing labeled "Athletics". Open and close the book and see what happens.[21]

This was NOT an accident. By the way, my picture occurs here and there thru this annual, and you can see what I looked like when I had plenty of hair, and no "pot".

6.[22]

This question credits me with knowing too much, and thinking too much about subjects that the average undergraduate then, (and maybe now), cares

[18] Laura Thornburgh (Thornborough), class of 1904, writer, editor, and dramatic critic, has written extensively. Perhaps her best known book is *The Great Smoky Mountains* (revised and enlarged edition, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1956). Harriet Greve joined the faculty of the University as dean of women in 1921 and continued in that position until 1951.

[19] "When you were a student, was church attendance required?"

[20] "State faculty and student reactions to changing presidents." Dr. Charles W. Dabney served as president from 1887 to 1904, when he resigned to accept a similar post with the University of Cincinnati. His successor, Dr. Brown Ayres, moved to U. T. in 1904 and remained in the presidency until his death in 1919.

[21] This refers to a "schoolboy" trick. Ayres' picture appears on one page and opposite it there may be seen the picture of a statue of two wrestling athletes—nude, of course. Only the back of the one more or less on top and in the center of the picture may be seen. The reader may draw his own conclusions as to what happens when he follows the instructions given above.

[22] "Enumerate your observations on student and faculty opinion concerning the purposes and policies of the University. What emphasis was placed on agriculture, liberal arts, engineering, domestic science, and education?"

little about. We were in college for the purpose of passing our exams and getting our degrees . . . with participation in such extra curricular activities as appealed to us—and didnt cost too much money.

What did we, high privates in the rear rank, know about the "policies and purposes of the University"?

7.[23]

On the serious and scholastic side, getting a degree with grades high enough to make me a member of the honor society, Phi Kappa Phi.

In the extra-curricular activities just mentioned, being a "three letter man"; that is, making my "T" on three teams . . . football, track, and basket ball.

On the personal side, becoming acquainted with the future, (and the present after nearly 50 years), Mrs White.[24] I first remember to have noticed her in—of all places—an algebra class! Who says that a college education doesnt pay? This was unquestionably the best thing that happened to me while I was in college.

8.[25]

Relations between the students and people of Knoxville were cordial and pleasant. There was no "town and gown" friction. The cops were good natured and the judge, if it ever got that far, was lenient. A very large proportion of the students were residents of the city, and that helped a lot. My guess is that 50 years ago the whole University wasnt a very big item in the civil life of the city.

9.[26]

As I remember it, cheating on exmas [*sic*] was very, very seldom done. There was no "honor system" that required a student to report such a thing and there was no student council to take it up with the erring student.

Unless he belonged to a fraternity, (which reacted severely towards any well authenicated [*sic*] case), nobody felt called on to take him to task. In those simple days neither governments nor individuals were sublimely convinced that they could run your business better than you could.

But anyone known to be trying to cheat their [*sic*] way thru college was regarded as a not very pleasant, and certainly a curious, speciman [*sic*] of genus homo . . . someone you didnt care to have much to do with.[27]

I think this came about because 50 years ago a college education was a privilege, and was not to be had casually and for the taking. Even in high school the proportion of girls to boys was 5 or 6 to 1. The boys had to drop out and go to work . . . the gals might as well be going to school while waiting around to get

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[23] "Name the achievements which you consider of importance while you were enrolled."

[24] Mrs. Harriet K. Baumann White, class of 1904.

[25] "What was the attitude as well as the relationship of the citizens of Knoxville to the University students?"

[26] "Give your observations and comments on cheating."

[27] White is absolutely right about the small amount of cheating. Other alumni have similar recollections: P. P. Bishop, class of 1898; R. C. Donaldson, class of 1899; Mrs. Louise L. Holloway, class of 1908; Charles Lee Lewis, class of 1906; and James McD. Shea, class of 1907. This may be contrasted with the findings in 1898 of a faculty committee of the University of Wisconsin that " 'cribbing' in examinations is deplorably common. . . ." Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925,* 2 vols. (Madison, 1949), I, 676-77. Also, cheating had been a serious problem at U. T. before 1887. Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Tennessee Establishes a State University: First Years of The University of Tennessee, 1879-1887,* The University of Tennessee *Record* (Knoxville), VI, No. 3 (May, 1961), 186-87.

married. Few, if any, were going thru college for the "atmosphere", the polish, or the social and business contacts that might result.

10.[28]

Summer School was, as I recall, just getting established when I came back in 1907. I never attended it, and knew very little about it. The future Mrs White, living in Knoxville, did attend it and liked it.

It produced a huge wooden assembly hall shed that covered most of the "upper parade ground",[29] and was regarded with gratitude by those who had to "walk extra duty", (for infractions of military regulations), in inclement weather.

It also came in handy, one Halloween night, when a wagon was "borrowed" somewhere; taken to pieces; carried up a ladder; and reassembled on the nearly flat roof. There was a skeleton of a horse, (for educational purposes), mounted on a dolly and kept in the agricultural building. This was also borrowed, and the horse hitched to the wagon.

11.[30]

The men you ask me to rate as speakers rarely had any occasion to make any serious speech to the student body. Dr Jordan was the Dean and as such did most of the speaking that students were called on to listen to. He had a pleasant but firm way, and was rather affectionately known as "Uncle Tommy". He could be firm enough, but he had a saving sense of humor.

On the Halloween occasion referred to above, Uncle Tommy caught on to what was going on. He occupied bachelor apartments on the top floor of South College, and practically had a grandstand seat . . . if he happened to wake up. And it happened that he did.

As the students were putting the finishing touches on the ensemble, they became aware of an addition to their ranks . . . a second horrified look confirmed the first . . . Uncle Tommy was already up the ladder and advancing rapidly, in no wise impeded by the flowing dressing gown hastily thrown over less formal attire.

They "joined the bird gang", running to a low end of the shed; there they hung by their hands and dropped. Then, on the theory that if they had been recognized they might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, they removed the ladder. Uncle Tommy was too old to risk what they had done and had to remain on the roof for a considerable, (and chilly), length of time, and until the night watchman made one of his infrequent rounds.

Uncle Tommy never put up a holler about that . . . Dr Ayres would have complained about for a month.

Dr Dabneys speeches to the students were informal, short, and well liked.

Dr Claxton[31] was just beginning to acquire his awesome reputation as an educator, and I cant recall that I ever heard him speak.

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[28] "State your frank opinion on the Summer School of the South." The Summer School of the South flourished on the campus of U. T. from 1902 to 1918. At times it attracted over 2,000 students.

[29] Located in the area immediately south of Ayres Hall, this structure was called Jefferson Hall. After World War I another building of the same name stood at the rear of the "lower parade ground" on the site of the southern half of the present tennis courts, below and to the northwest of the Administration Building.

[30] "Please rate these men as speakers: Dabney, Claxton, Ayres, Hoskins, Morgan, and Jordan."

[31] Dr. P. P. Claxton belonged to the faculty of the University from 1902 to 1911, and during the same time he served as the superintendent of the Summer School of the South. In 1911 he became United States commissioner of education for President Taft and held the office throughout the term of President Wilson. From 1930 to 1946 he served as president of Austin Peay Normal School (State College).

Dr Morgan[32] was head of the Agricultural Department, and the same is true of him . . . I had no subjects under him and barely knew him at sight.

Dr Hoskins and I entered the University together . . . I as a freshman and he as a teacher of freshman history in a classroom in ancient "Old College".[33] Dr Hoskins may have come by a sense of humor with experience—I guess he HAD to—but he had none then.[34]

It probably comes to every freshman class at some time or other that it would be a good joke to lock the teacher out, and this happened to him. A more resourceful or more experienced man would have called the roll from the hall and marked everyone absent; have announced a quiz, marked all zero; then departed to let the students figure out who the "joke" was on.

Under similar circumstances "Uncle Billy" Carson,[35] Head of the Engineering Department, had enlisted the aid of a passing janitor and the two of them had deftly installed a hasp, catch and padlock on the OUTSIDE of the door. Since Uncle Billy didnt send the janitor around with the key, until mid-afternoon and the classroom was on the second floor, there was little doubt as to who was the "winnah" on this occasion. They surely got the horse smile when it got out.

Probably never in the history of the University have so many students had an ironclad excuse for missing a class or two—and been so loth [*sic*] to use it.

But Dr Hoskins took it plumb serious . . . he was pained to the core. What had he done to merit such treatment? A small thing, yet . . . but did not straws show how the wind blew? And so on.

12.[36]

I dont think any of us knew anything about it.

13.[37]

Quite an assignment. I cant tell all that I remember about all of them, but those that [I] remember most vividly are:—

DR HOSKINS. I have already, in a way, commented on him; and if the anecdote does not portray him in the most favorable light as a practical pedagog, it detracts nothing from his earnestness of purpose . . . the earnestness that eventually carried him to the presidency. At the time he was a freshman teacher, just as we were freshmen students.

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[32] Harcourt A. Morgan became dean of agriculture in 1905 and president of the University in 1919. He later resigned to become one of the first directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

[33] The "Old College" building occupied part of the site on which Ayres Hall now stands.

[34] Readers who knew James D. Hoskins will have their own opinions about whether or not he had a sense of humor. In a series of interviews with Hoskins in 1955-1956, I failed to detect much. His speeches, however, contained many humorous anecdotes. As a teacher Hoskins remains the subject of divergent opinion. White, obviously, has some reservations on the subject, while Dorothy Greve McAllester (class of 1905) recalls him as the "best teacher I ever had. . . ." Letter, March 3, 1960. Hoskins became president of U. T. in 1934 (having served as acting president for a year) and remained in office until his retirement in 1946. He died in 1960 at the age of 90.

[35] William Carson, faculty, 1885-1916.

[36] "What did the students think of the efforts for and the results of the efforts to obtain funds for the University in 1903 and 1905?" In 1903 the University received $10,000 to buy some additional agricultural property. This marked the first time that Tennessee had made a direct appropriation for its university.

[37] "Enumerate your recollections and give your comments on your professors."

COOPER D SCHMITT.[38] General mathamatics [*sic*] was taught by "Cooper D", as [he] was universally called. I thought he was good; but in those days I positively reveled in mathematics, and am perhaps was [*sic*] no good judge of his ability . . . it came so easy to me.

I believe that most of his students will remember that he was left handed and would stand at the blackboard writing out equations and problems with lightning speed, all from the unorthodox side. Now days, if a child seems to be left handed they say let him alone . . . he may grow up to be a famous major league pitcher.

But in those days it was almost like being tongue tied and cross eyed, and all effort was made to convert him to use of his right hand . . . I know, for I was left handed myself. I used to sit there and wonder how he had managed it . . . was he an orphan, or something?

MISS SKEFFINGTON[39] taught freshman English, and introduced us to the doubrful [*sic*] joy of writing themes. These she corrected copiously in an angular, flowing, and almost illegible hand, using the brightest of red ink. This was the basis for a skit in one of the annuals. It was supposed to be a "Jack" for the interpretation of Miss Skeffingtons criticism of freshman themes. For the benefit of the uninitiated, a "Jack" was an English translation of certain Latin classics authored by Cæsar, Virgil and Cicero . . . a handy thing to have around, but frowned on by the faculty. She was a hard worker, a person not easily dismayed by what they [*sic*] read; a good and enthusiastic teacher.

J DOUGLAS BRUCE,[40] universally called "old J Doug", taught the higher branches of English literature . . . specifically four volumes of "Wards English Poets". Who will ever forget them—or him? He doubtless knew his subject right down to the ground; but he hated what he was doing; disliked his students, who disliked him; and Mr Wards poets were caught in the middle. There was one thing he could do, tho . . . he could read poetry—and how he could read it!

He could take some such poem a[s] Boewulf written in Anglo Saxon (a language dead as Sanskrit), and as he read it you could hear the clang of battle axe on shield; the whistle of arrows; the slither of sword on sword; the shouts of the victors; the groans of the wounded. A fidgety, uninterested and hostile class would sit motionless and almost breathless while he read. But it was all too seldom that he did any such thing. And I would class him as the poorest teacher I ever studied under.

"UNCLE TOMMY JORDAN" taught Latin and Greek. I had two years of Latin under him, and he was a good teacher, capable and patient.

PROF DARNELL [*sic*][41] taught modern languages . . . for me it was Spanish. He was good also. A younger man than most of the faculty, he had traveled extensively in the countries whose languages he taught, and that was far from common then. His anecdotes and tales of personal experiences went far to keep interest alive.

But no languages were then taught as a spoken language . . . it was all out of the book. I could read Spanish with some fluency when I got out, but I was utterly unable to speak it, or to understand it in an ordinary conversation.

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[38] Cooper D. Schmitt, faculty, 1889-1910.

[39] Florence Skeffington, faculty, 1899-1905.

[40] J. Douglas Bruce, faculty, 1900-1923. Mrs. Dorothy Greve McAllester recalls that Bruce "made me like Shakespeare." She thought him a challenging teacher.

[41] Henry J. Darnall, faculty, 1898-1930.

DR PERKINS taught physics and DR WAITE [*sic*] chemistry, and both were adequate and up to their jobs.[42] Dr Perkins excited considerable comment by attaching certain gadgets to the bicycle that he rode from home to school [such as] a home made apparatus that enabled him to compute the foot pounds of energy required for the trip.

Dr Waite was something of a showman, and after completing an experiment before the class, he would beam confidently upon all and say, "Now isnt that wonderful"? The undergraduate version, "Aint that wonderful" was a catch phrase around the campus.

One year, with an assist from Uncle Billy Carson, and somewhat unwillingly, he popularized another one.

His vacations were regularly spent in Canada, and on this occasion he shot a moose. (Those who eventually saw the horns when shipped to Knoxville, say it was quite a moose, too). Fresh home from Canada, he sought out Uncle Billy and favored him with the tale of how it happened; all the details, all the thrills, all the frills. Uncle Billy listened in silence and at the triumphant conclusion his only comment was, "What did you do with the meat?"

Dr Waite abandoned him as one unworthy, and sought more sympathetic listeners. But Uncle Billy had a pretty good idea of his itinerary, and got on the telephone. With the result that succeeding listeners, after hearing the tale in all its length, breadth and thickness, were likely to say something like this[:] "That was a mighty big moose, but what did you do with the meat"? On the campus that year, if anyone told a big one, true or false, the proper comment was, "What did you do with the meat".

All of which serves to introduce "UNCLE BILLY" CARSON, head of the Engineering Department. He was a good teacher, and above all, a practical teacher. He was teaching something that he had practiced as a profession for many years, and he taught it with common sense.

When he gave his students a problem, or a test, or an exam, he did not bar them from using their text books. "Go ahead and use them for reference," he would say, "That's what you are going to do when you graduate and get a job". He required his students to take the same term [course] that the law students had when studying the subjects of "contracts".

"You are going to be making and carrying out contracts all your engineering days", he would say, "I want you to know something about them before you leave here".

In addition, he was a fine old Southern gentleman, courteous and soft spoken, born and reared in the Deep South.

COLONEL NAVE[43] was commandant of the cadet battation [*sic*] . . . military training was required the first two years . . . optional after that.

Tall, spare, white hair, crackling blue eyes . . . he was the perfect picture of a retired army officer of the old school. He was supposed to have quite a collection of hostile hardware parked here and there in his anatomy; and as a matter of fact, had been an officer in Custers ill fated command, and escaped the mas-

[42] Charles Perkins, faculty, 1892-1941, and Charles Wait, faculty, 1889-1923.

[43] Andrew Nave, faculty, 1875-1876; 1898-1907. He was a colonel in the National Guard from 1899 to 1901. Nave, one of the colorful characters of the campus, at one time held a regular army commission. As a result of a broken collar bone and an injured shoulder, he was reassigned to the University as commandant of cadets in 1875-1876. While serving at U.T., he received word that all of his former command had been killed in the "Custer Massacre," June 25, 1876. The wounding mentioned by White occurred a year earlier.

sacre of Little Big Horn by reason of being already wounded and in the base hospital.

He had a way of halting before some unhappy freshman, struggling to learn the manual of arms; observe him critically for tense minutes, and then demand in a fierce voice, "Young gentleman, whats your name?" It did not have a tranquilizing effect upon the perspiring fish; it sounded as tho a general court martial was in the immediate offing.

At other times, and in the same fierce voice, he would demand, "Mr Smith, what's your name?" The rattled fish didnt usually realize that he had been called by his proper name, and would stutter, "Its, er, sir, its, er, John Smith sir".

"Save the best for the last", says the proverb, and I have done so . . . JUDGE TURNER,[44] head of the Law Department . . . the finest teacher they ever had at the University.

Like Uncle Billy Carson, he was teaching something that he had done for a livelyhood [*sic*] . . . it wasnt something that he had learned out of a book. He had been a successful practicing attorney up New England way for many years, and had all the shrewd common sense and dry wit that is customarily ascribed to the New England Yankee. I never knew why he took up teaching . . . probably for reasons of health and climate. Whatever it was, the University and those who took their law under him, were the big winners.

Always he taught from the standpoint of the practicing attorney, facing the hurry and confusion of a court room, and the very possible hostility of a judge or jury.

If he were discussing the writ of replevin, for instance, he did not simply talk learnedly and historically, he had sample forms of the writ to pass around the class . . . when he got thru you knew what they looked like . . . who had power to issue them . . . what bond and affadavit were required . . . you could probably have left the classroom, gone to town and have gotton one issued without a bobble.

14.[45]

The "Eds" and coeds got along very well; there was no male resentment at there [*sic*] presence; we highly approved of them.

They were nice wholesome girls, trying for a degree just like we were; and if you got interested in one of them, it did not lessen the interest to know that she was studying domestic science, and would know how to cook and darn socks.

My own personal coed problem was one of logistics. She was a town fish and lived in North Knoxville a good three miles from the Hill . . . and the street cars stopped running at 10:00 pm! Thats an awful early hour when you are doing a bit of serious courting . . . but three miles is three miles, and some of those Knoxville hills are too steep for a hen hawk to fly over. I never did manage to work out any kind of compromise.

15.[46]

We were quite informal in our daily attire, but when we went "formal", as at a dance, we were just as formal as we knew how to be.

It was not an artificial informality, such as comes from everyone wearing corduroy trousers as a kind of uniform . . . it was a good honest personal informality caused by being more or less broke all the time.

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[44] Charles Turner, faculty, 1897-1921.

[45] "Were there any problems in co-education? Do you recall any incidents concerning work in Home Economics (domestic science)?"

[46] "Give your recollections of regular and formal dress of students."

The commonest dress was a "fish skin" . . . that is, the cadet corps uniform . . . you had to have it anyway, and it wore like cast iron. The main trouble was with the coat; it was tight and lacked pockets. Otherwise you wore just about what you wanted to, and the coeds didnt make any difference.

But each fraternity, and some of the other organizations, was expected to give at least one formal dance a year, and then we really put on the dog as best we knew how. I owned a dress suit which, during its college career, must have attended half the dances given on the Hill. We loaned 'em around, rented 'em in town, managed somehow.

During the first three years these affairs were usually given at the Womans Building, located on Main Street opposite the Court House. Thereafter at the Cheerokee [*sic*] Country Club on Kingston Pike.

16.[47]

Reese Hall and Humes Hall were three story brick buildings, designed and used as dormitories.[48] The YMCA Building had a few rooms for rent on its top floor.[49] The coeds occupied Barbara Blount Hall, at that time the newest and most modern building on the campus.

Nearly all rooms were double, and all you got for your rent was 4 walls, 1 ceiling and 1 floor. Shower baths and toilets were on the ground floor, and there was one hot and cold water outlet on each floor. In your room you had the good old time combination of bowl, pitcher and slop jar. Steam heat and electric light . . . a single drop light from the ceiling. The University generated its own electricity, 110 volts DC, in the shops at Estabrook Hall, and the lights went out at ten pm. Hence nearly all students had some auxiliary source of light.

Each pair of students furnished their room as suited their individual tastes and pocket books, and the second hand furniture market was brisk in early September, and again in June.

The fraternities either rented a portion of a dormitory, or a house near the campus. If in a dormitory, one room was used as a general sitting and lounging room. The Kappa Alphas were the only frat to occupy a separate building on the campus . . . a square brick building immediately north of Reese Hall.

"When (and where) do we eat" was as pertinent a query at the University as it ever was in the Army. The University was operating a mess hall when I entered school, and I ate there for a time. My memory is a bit vague, but I think that somewhere along the way they abandoned it. There were any number of "hash houses" in private residences near the Hill . . . some of these homes also rented a room or two.

There were NO restaurants, drug stores, or hamburger stands near the campus! There was a single small, hole-in-the-wall store on Main Street at the foot of the Hill where the railroad tracks crossed over. Evidently the University didnt make a very big splash, commercially, in those days.

17.[50]

I made my "T" in football, basketball and track, and caught on the scrub baseball team. So I could write a lot about athletics at the University 50 years ago. But the word used in the questionnaire is "summarize".

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[47] "Relate any stories about boarding and rooming on the Hill nearby."

[48] Reese Hall, razed in 1938, stood at about the south end of the present Austin Peay Memorial Administration Building.

[49] A building just east of the Hesler Biology Building. It burned in 1943.

[50] "Summarize your information on athletic teams or activities."

Intercollegiate athletics were, by modern standards, on a small scale. Football games were played in baseball parks; the infields of race tracks at fair grounds; on college parade grounds; almost in vacant lots. Nowhere was there provision for many spectators, and nowhere was it needed. The general public was not much interested. But student interest was high, and victory over a traditional rival usually called for a "nightshirt parade" the length of Gay Street.

There was—get this—a single coach for the whole football team! Ditto for the baseball team and he was usually a retired pro ball player who did it more for the love of the game than for the very modest renumeration [*sic*] offered by the athletic association.

Basketball and track had no paid coaches at all! Equipment in the way of uniforms was doled out to the varsity . . . the scrubs furnished their own. On the much coveted road trips made by the football team, the usual number carried was fifteen . . . 11 players, 2 subs, the coach and the manager.

So tight was the budget that—again get a load of this—we often had to play TWO games on a week end road trip! We would play Ga Tech in Atlanta on Saturday; drop over to Athens and play the Univ of Georgia on Monday. Or play Miss A & M (now Miss State) in Memphis on Saturday and Univ of Arkansas in Little Rock on Monday. We did this with 13 or 14 men, no real protective equipment by modern standards, and the rules of the day did not allow a player to return to the game if he was taken out. You could do, and expected to have done to you, a good many things that have long since been ruled out, as tending to reduce a back or an end into his component parts.

So that laments about the "tough" schedules of modern teams often leaves us old timers unimpressed.

In the eyes of the students, the baseball team ranked in importance with the football team, and it was an equal honor to have made it. There has been a tremendous change there.

Both the football and baseball teams played about the same colleges they do now . . . keeping geography and the budget in mind. Kentucky; Vanderbilt; Sewanee (a football power then) ; North and South Carolina; Clemson; Ga Tech; Univ of Georgia; Alabama. Schools like Florida, LSU and Tulane were too distant. Smaller schools were often played; Maryville and Grant Univ in Chattanooga, (now Univ of Chattanooga), for instance.

Basketball and track teams were poor relations and their games and meets had to be in Knoxville or the immediate vicinity.

Here again it was a question of money. Few gymnasiums at that time had any provision at all for spectators, and the few that did attend often had to stand up.

Do not infer from any of the foregoing that competition was slight and that you could "make" a team with a perfunctory effort. Far, far from it. In contrast to the huge "squads" of today, you were fighting for something extremely definite . . . you either "made the team" or you were a "scrub". Nobody was carried along because he was extra good on end runs to the left, when the ball was between the 25 and 30 yard lines, and it was a cloudy day.

When you "made" the team you were officially known to be the best man for that position; hence were expected to play every minute of every game. There were no huddles, and no time out for anything except injuries. When taken out a player was out for good. Hence an injured player was never removed until at least two buckets of water, liberally sloshed over the fallen warrior, failed to bring him back to life and a desire for further combat. I dont know why we all didnt get killed . . . but we didnt.

18.[51]

"College spirit" is an elastic phrase . . . I do not know exactly what you have in mind. It has already been shown, at least by inference, that the student body supported the teams enthusiastically.

The fraternity men and the "barbs"[52] got along well enough, and there was not much "college politics". A certain amount of dislike existed between the ATO and Phi Gamma Delta fraternities on the one side, and the SAE and PKA fraternties [*sic*] on the other;[53] this was the nearest thing to a college rift that I recall. This dislike never approached the fist fighting stage.

19.[54]

Like the residuary clause in a will, this question covers lots of territory. It could justify most any kind of reminisence [*sic*].

However, in the personal letter accompanying the questionnaire you refer to the time when certain students with well developed bicepts [*sic*] pumped a "borrowed" handcar to Maryville—and back—for felonious purposes;[55] I am assuming that you would like a few good ones along the same lines.

No, I wasnt in on that one, but I can give you the dope. The football team was playing Maryville on the latter's campus . . . by no means as uneven a game then as it would be now.

On the opening kickoff the Maryville man booted it into the end zone where a Maryville man fell on it. When a PUNT goes untouched into the end zone the ball is dead and goes to the defensive team. So Tennessee made no effort to cover the ball . . . rather expected to give those Maryville rubes the horse laugh for taking all that trouble.

The laugh never got off the ground, as we would say nowdays. Maryville had been studying the rule book, and the referee, after reading several passages that the Maryville coach had ready marked, ruled it a touchdown for Maryville. A prolonged wrangle ensued, but the game was eventually started and played.

The way the score happened to be at the end, IF the disputed touchdown counted, then Maryville won. Otherwise Tennessee won. So each side claimed to be the winner. (In fairness to Tennessee, the rules were not as plain then as they are now).

Maryville enthroned the ball in their trophy room, surrounded with college pennants and the score, (Maryville version), printed large for all Blount County to see and admire. It was for the purpose of swiping this football that the trip was made.

Well, as I say, I wasnt in on that one . . . but how about the time that I appeared, briefly and as a semi-hero, in the New York City Press? That ought to sound interesting.

Students in the dormitories had a custom of "stacking" a room. The stackee would return to his lares and penates, perhaps after the lights were out, and find his household goods "stacked" on top of his bed. You wouldnt believe that practically everything in a room occupied by two people could be piled onto one

[51] "Give your comments on college spirit."

[52] "Barbarians"—the title given to non-fraternity men.

[53] These four social fraternities still have chapters within the University community: Alpha Tau Omega, Phi Gamma Delta, Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and Pi Kappa Alpha.

[54] "State any other comments, stories, information, or incidents which you consider of interest or importance."

[55] It was the recollection of James McD. Shea that White had participated in this escapade.

double bed . . . but it has been done. Once a room had been stacked, the occupants were by custom free of future stacking.

So most students put up only a token resistance; got it over with and behind them. But there were usually one or two rugged individualists who invested in Yale locks and other safeguards, and avowed their intention of going stack free. It was against the rather nebulous rules of the game to break into a room so defended. Thus it became a game of watchful waiting on the one hand, and "eternal vigilence[*sic*] is the price of safety," on the other.

My good friend "Son" Hope[56] and I occupied adjacent rooms in the north end of Reese Hall. Well into the autumn Son's room had remained unstacked; but there came a night when his attention wandered, and he failed to slip the safety off the night latch . . . he was going out "tantalizing", (calling on a young lady), and he was about to miss his street car.

So, when he got home after the lights were out, he was confronted with a stacking job commensurate will [with] all the trouble he had caused . . . it really was a job of stacking. Little could be done about it until daylight . . . Son was going to have to double up with some friend, or sleep on the couch in the fraternity living room on the same floor.

Insult followed injury. Son had been bothered with heart burn and was accustomed to masticate a wad of chewing gum for 10 or 15 minutes before going to bed. College students not having a whole lot of money then, Son didnt open a new pack every night, or even every week . . . he had a wad nearly as big as a golf ball of used but still quite usable gum parked under the edge of the table. Feeling a major attack of heartburn impending, he retrieved his gum and bit down . . . some miscreant had softened it in hot water, hollowed it out, and filled it with coal oil!

Now, believe it or not, (and Son evidently did not), I had had nothing to do with all this . . . I had been out tantalizing myself. But, tho the best of friends, we were on a practical joke basis, and I was right there and just down the hall . . . the matter seemed clear.

I must—apparently—digress again. The L & N RR was building into Knoxville, and Tennessee had a pretty good football team that fall. By way of connecting these diverse events, some students had swiped half a case of dynamite from the railroad powder house; an inch of this, tied to the tip end of a tree limb on the campus, made a soul satisfying racket, and did no harm. When the word got back to the Hill of a Saturday night that the team had left its hoofprints on the pride of some rival college, this was part of the celebration.

Desiring to save face by giving me a good scare, Son tied a very liberal inch of dynamite to my door knob and toughed [*sic*] it off . . . in the confines of the building, it sounded like the world had come to an end! It blew a hole in the door you could nearly cram a football thru . . . the lock, shattered into fine pieces, shot across the room and out thru a window . . . if my bed had been in line I would have been as full of door lock as Col Nave was supposed to be full of Indian arrow heads. It broke out all the windows in that end of Reese Hall . . . it scared us both nearly to death. He hadnt, of course, foreseen the results of exploding dynamite in a confined space.

This made the wires of the AP, and the further away it got, the bigger it got . . . rumors vary directly with the square of the distance.

About a week later somebody said to me, "White, you ought to go to the library and read all about yourself . . . look in the Sunday edition of the New

[56] Marion G. Hope, class of 1905.

York 'Whoop & Holler' ". The University was on the mailing list—probably free —of a number of out of town newspapers.

There I learned that I had adventured down out of the coves and laurel breaks of the Great Smoky Mountains and entered the University for the purpose of learning how to wear shoes, eat with a fork, and otherwise absorb a snootfull of civilivation [*sic*] and culture.

When the sophs had tried to haze me, I had reacted violently . . . as was to be expected from one a spiritual descendent [*sic*] of Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett. I had, as a matter of course, brought along my pet bowie knife and squirrel rifle . . . I had barricaded myself in the north end of Reese Hall and was standing off the entire sophomore class. Under sover [*sic*] of darkness they had dynamited and partially wrecked that end of the building . . . but I was still holding out!!

To "see irselves as ithers see us" is often surprising, as well as instructive.

What happened to Son? Plenty would have happened if all concerned hadnt clammed up and proclaimed a dense ignorance. We even turned in that night and helped Son unstack his room in a hurry . . . the faculty was entirely capable of putting 2 and 2 together and coming up with the correct answer. There was plenty of investigation but no "results".

One ironic touch. On the peak of the stack was Sons bowl and pitcher, carefully balanced and—carefully filled with water. It would have been unethical to have simply doused the pile with a bucket full of water . . . but if Son could be tricked into doing it himself, that was fine and dandy.

But Son had stacked rooms himself, and was well informed as to the possibilities of such an arrangement . . . come daylight and he would probably have removed the crockery with care. But the shock of the explosion toppled them both over . . . it just wasnt Son's lucky night.

Have you ever heard of a winning football team, victor in TWO tough road games over the weekend, come home and be promptly put under arrest at the railroad station? Not a gag, or a publicity stunt, but a bona fide arrest, with a sufficiency of oversize cops and all the trimmings! Well, it has happened.

We had played Ga Tech on Saturday and Clemson on Monday, and had beaten them both. We felt pretty good about it, and so did the student body. We were to be met at the Southern RY Depot and a night shirt parade held the length of Gay Street with the team riding in a tallyho drawn, not "by four white horses", but by the students. Plenty of cow bells and tin pans were to furnish appropriate music.

Unaware of the impending honor, we on the team were humming along in the early evening darkness between Morristown and Knoxville, paying guests of the Southern RY and the Pullman Company. All was well with the world and the goose hung high.

Then the pullman porter, passing thru on duty bent, observed several students with their suitcases open, rearranging the contents to accommodate one or more of the spittoons that in those days brightened the dark corners of a pullman coach. These were reputed to be silver plated, no less!, and were highly prized as "souvenirs" and as evidence of travel in an age when travel was not as common as it is now.

Being a colored boy, and the Supreme Court not then having decreed that the colored race was as good (or better) than the "white folks", he merely blinked and kept moving.

But very shortly thereafter the pullman conductor, reinforced by a tough looking Irish brakeman, appeared and demanded an accounting[.] One or two, specifically the ones that the porter had caught in the act, came across . . . the rest of us stood pat. We all belonged to the YMCA; we didnt any of us smoke, chew, drink, or even cuss . . . . what would WE want with a spitoon [*sic*]? After a lengthy and wordy argument, and with vague threats as to appropriate action, the conductor turned to leave and discovered that under cover of all the chin music, someone had swiped his lantern! Now he really hit the ceiling. He had been prepared to stand Mr Pullmans loss with a certain show of token indignation; but this was personal and different—exceedingly so.

There were enough 200 pounders, ominously decorated with black eyes and skinned noses, to make direct action a doubtful proposition . . . a telegram was dropped off at a way station . . . as we entered Knoxville the train stopped briefly a few blocks short of the depot, and quite a squad of cops appeared on the vestibule at each end of the coach!

The affair had now become a horse of another and very different color. The way they felt at home in those days, it was bad enough to have junior playing football with a bunch of roughnecks instead of leading the debating society . . . now if he had to do 30 days of the rockpile for stealing!! . . . Mr Pullman's inventory took a rapid rise within the next few minutes.

Two of us, endowed with less common sense than the others, decided to make a run for it. As the train slowed to a safe speed we squeezed thru a window on the dark side and "lit a running". Our suit cases we left with friends . . . if we had to discard any contrabrand [*sic*] enroute, we didnt want to have to dig it out of a suit case.

The rest of the team rode into the station under arrest, and the celebration had to wait until suitcases were opened and searched. A number of unusual items, not normally found in suitcases, came to light, but no lantern . . . and the Pullman Co was still short one spitoon.

It was springtime, and in that engaging season a young mans fancy does not always lightly turn to thoughts of love . . . ask any faculty. A farmers convention was going on at the University, and we thought some notice ought to be taken of the matter.

The first nights efforts resulted—quite appropriately, we thought—in a cow in the presidents office on top floor of Science Hall.[57] How do you get a cow to climb steps? Twist her tail. Will it work in reverse? I dont know—that wasnt our problem.

The best we could think of for the next night was to turn the fire house [hose] on the convention, assembled in chapel, from the darkened organ loft above.[58] We realized that this had to be done with split second timing . . . a case of duck (or douse), and run.

There were no hydraulic engineers among us, and understandibly [*sic*], there could be no rehearsal. The hose kicked like a mule, got away from us, twisted around under our feet, barked our shins, tripped us up, soaked us liberally. During the ensuing critical minutes a wet (and angry) farmer was no novelty. But a wet student caught trying to sneak out the back way, had quite a job of explaining before him.

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[57] Dabney, and later Ayres, occupied an office on what would now be considered the second floor of Science Hall.

[58] This is a reference to the large assembly hall in Science Hall. At that time it had a balcony. At a later time a false ceiling was added and the balcony abandoned.

I was totally unable to convince the faculty that my clothes were wet with perspiration, and that the perspiration came from studying too hard on a hot night. I graduated by what might be called the "propulsion" method late in my junior year.

Kids didnt get away with things then as they seem to now. My father was justly incensed; he suggested that I now matriculate in the school of hard knocks, get a job, and—just possibly—learn some sense.

I did just that, working mostly with surveying crews deep in the Cumberland and Smoky Mountains, and at the end of three years applied for readmission to the University.

They graciously agreed to let bygones be bygones; after all, I hadnt been canned for anything actually disgraceful; such as cheating on exams, getting drunk, gambling, and the like. Upon promise to leave fire hoses and farmers conventions strictly alone, (I played football instead), I again became a member of the student body and graduated from Judge Turner's Law Department in 1910.

20.[59]

I doubt if I knew anything about it in 1903-05. Rather to the contrary, it is to my recollection that Memphis and West Tenn were always well represented at the University. The Memphis boys usually joined the same fraternity (SAE), which tended to keep them a separate entity. Nash Buckingham,[60] one of the early athletic "greats", was from Memphis. "Piggy" Word, another athlete of early renown, (at one time Sheriff of Knox County), was from Jackson. There were at the time smaller colleges, (I cannot recall their names), in both Jackson and Clarksville. They undoubtedly got some potenti[a]l U of T students.

Nashville had the Univ of Nashville, (now defunct) as well as Vanderbilt. We wouldnt have admitted it [at] the time, but the latter was probably more of a school at the turn of the century than Tennessee was. Since geography figured a good deal in selecting a college, the University had lots of competition in Chattanooga. Georgia, Ga Tech, and Alabama were little further [*sic*] away, and Sewanee was considerably nearer. And in those days Sewanee was quite a school, both scholastically and athletically.

Well, this answers your 20 questions. Your letter to me inclosed a stamped envelope and TWO sheets of blank paper . . . I hope this was not a hint as to the length of answer that you desired.

Nor did I intend to write a 26 page reply; it just kind of grew—like Topsy. One thing after another kept coming back to me, and I thought, why not? We old timers are fast becoming ex-alumni . . . if somebody dont write these things down, how will people know how it was B.C. (before cars)?

If any composite of the replies that you get is ever published I would like to know about it . . . would like to see how the memories of others coincides with or differs from, mine.

Very sincerely,
S/ *Benton White*
6612 East Brainerd Road
Chattanooga 11 Tenn.

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[59] "In 1903 and 1905, U. T. began to receive grants from the Tennessee General Assembly. Do you recall other evidences that the University was becoming accepted as a 'proper' place to send students from Middle and West Tennessee and worthy of financial support by those sections?"

[60] T. Nash Buckingham studied law at U. T. in 1902 and 1903.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

IX. Greene County, 1805[1]

Greene County was established by an act of the North Carolina general assembly on April 18, 1783,[2] the third established in the territory now the state of Tennessee. The act provided that Washington County, established six years before,[3] should be divided into two counties by

> . . . a line beginning at William Williams, in the fork of Horse Creek, at the foot of the mountain, thence a direct line to George Gillespie's house at or near the mouth of Big Limestone, thence a north course to the line which divides the counties of Washington and Sullivan, thence a direct line to the mouth of Cloud Creek on Holston river—and all that part of Washington county westward of said line is declared to be a distinct county by the name of Greene.

The county was named in honor of General Nathanael Greene, prominent Revolutionary war leader.

Part of the original territory was removed in the formation of Knox and Jefferson counties;[4] in 1797 Cocke County was created out of Jefferson[5] and in 1799 part of Greene County was attached to Cocke County.[6]

The earliest settlement of the territory which became Greene County was in the late 1770's when settlers pushed down the Nolichucky River from the Watauga settlement.[7]

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[1] For introduction to this series see *Publications* No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Previous installments have been: I. Anderson County, 1802, in No. 23; II. Blount County, 1801, in No. 24; III. Knox County, 1806, in No. 26; IV. Grainger County, 1799, in No. 27; V. Jefferson County, 1800, in No. 28; VI. Carter County, 1796, in No. 30; VII. Sullivan County, 1796, in No. 31; VIII. Hawkins County, 1809-1812, in No. 32.

[2] Edward Scott (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee Including Those of North Carolina Now in Force From the Year 1715 to the Year 1820, Inclusive,* 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), 282. Hereafter cited as Scott, *Laws.*

[3] *Ibid.,* 221-22.

[4] George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), iv-v.

[5] *Ibid.,* 124-26.

[6] *Ibid.,* 168.

[7] Goodspeed Publishing Co., *History of Tennessee,* East Tennessee edition (Nashville, 1887), 881.

The first court was held at the home of Robert Kerr (Carr) at the site of present Greeneville. The first justices of the peace were Joseph Hardin, John Newman, George Doherty, James Houston, Amos Bird, and Asahel Rawlings. Daniel Kennedy was chosen clerk; James Wilson, sheriff; William Cocke, attorney for the state; Joseph Hardin, Jr., entry taker; Isaac Taylor, surveyor; Richard Woods, register; and Francis Hughes, ranger.[8]

The surviving Greene County records are available in the courthouse at Greeneville. There has been no serious loss of any records except loose papers, which were probably lost through carelessness. The county court minutes, estate books, will books, deeds, etc., have all been preserved. Many of the original marriage bonds and licenses were lost before being recorded, there being no mandatory law before 1838. The late Mrs. Louise Wilson Reynolds published the 1783 tax lists in the *D.A.R. Magazine* for April, 1919. The earliest tax lists available in the Greene County Clerk's Office are those for 1809. A copy of some of the early marriage bonds contributed by Mrs. Z. R. Peterson was published in the *Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine.*

The following list was transcribed from a microfilm copy of the original certified copy return by Valentine Sevier, Greene County court clerk, to the Tennessee general assembly, now on file in the Tennessee Archives. This and early tax lists of other Tennessee counties were microfilmed by the compiler in 1949, through the courtesy of the late Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, Tennessee state librarian and archivist. The films are available in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

The county courts in Tennessee were authorized to levy taxes on property by a legislative act passed October 25, 1797,[9] in which types of taxable property were listed and the method of taking the taxes was prescribed. Other acts were passed amending minor provisions of this act. An act passed November 7, 1803, imposed additional types of property and made some changes in the method of taking the lists.[10] By the second section of this act, the tax rate was set at the following:

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[8] *Ibid.,* 885.

[9] Scott, *Laws,* I, 585-91.

[10] *Ibid.,* 762-69. The list which follows, however, merely gives the names of the free inhabitants without the usual statistics as to the number of polls and amount of property owned.

For each 100 acres of land 12½ cents; for each town lot 25 cents; on each free poll and male servant 12½ cents; on each slave 25 cents; on each stud horse kept for the season of mares, the sum equal to the season of one mare; on each billiard table $1,000; on each retail store $25.00; on each pedler or hawker $25.00.

A Copy of the List of free taxable Inhabitants of Greene County in the Year 1805, as returned by James Patterson, Sheriff of said County.

Thomas Robinson
William Bowers
Samuel McGill
George Andes
John Weems
Thomas Prathar
Michael Neese
Daniel Bails
James Weems
David Tate
Benjamin Yeates
Alexander Prethero
Dutton Lane
John Neese
Abraham Hood
Benjamin Vanpelt
Young Landrum
John Broiles
Patrick Ross
John Willer
Dutton Lane Junr
John Carter Senr
John Weems Senr
Jacob Gray
Peter Harmon Senr
Thomas Wyatt
Daniel McClellin
Ezekiel Broyles
Jeremiah Broyles
John Farnsworth
Jesse Huffman
Jonathan Brown
James Graham Senr
Ezekiel Frazier
John Macky
Thomas Brown
Martin Lentz
Michael Miers
Paulser Hawk
Henry Stonecypher
Daniel Dunn
John Allen
John Bailey
Frethias Loyd
Philip Everet
Thomas Graham
Josiah Frisby
John Painter
John Frushour
Rudolph Boo
Joseph Babb
Jacob Linebough
John Boils
George Phann
John Phann
Isaac Frisby
Andrew Luckey
Jeremiah Harrison
Adam Painter
John Copeland
Joseph Reynolds
Samuel Lain
Abraham Peters
John Woolsey
John Pogue
Israel McBee
Charles Killgore
Jacob Miller
Peter Ricker
Michael Neese
John Yerrick
Sebastian Smith
William Harrison
John Killdea
Thomas Williams
Jacob Smith
Joseph Brown
Benjamin Pickering
George Farnsworth
Isaac Sherrill
Henry Mantooth
William Ford
John Kelly Junr
William Wilson
Michael Gurtner
Stephen Alexander Senr
William Brotherton
William Reeves
James Pratt
Isaiah Harrison
Solomon Reese
Philip Smathars
John Wolliver
David Gurtner
Robert McGill
Andrew Stephens
Thomas Watson
John McCurty
John Alexander
Ephraim Wilson
Benjamin Williams
James Penney
David Carter
William Ramsey
Henry White
Nicholas Trobough
John Lane
John White
John Jones
Samuel Dinsmoore
William McCormick
Philip Babb
John Glass Senr
Thomas Greene
James Neil
George Jones
Benjamin Drue
Christopher Winters
Enos Pickering
Henry Dyke Junr
James Morrison
Hezekiah Russell
James Johnston
Charles McGill
Daniel Coulee
John Mitchell

Thomas Mitchell
William Mitchell
Thomas Brown
Robert Burnett
Jacob Fellow
James Cotter
Michael Baysinger
Alexander Wilson
Benjamin Brown
Abraham White
Christopher Kerby
Phineas Jones
Samuel Brewer
Thomas Antrim
Samuel Varner
Philip Phann
Isaac Justis
Evan Jones Junr
John Vansandt
John Kyle
Daniel Cremer
Andrew Hixson
Absalom Haworth Sr
Ellis Pickering
Henry Trobough
Shadrach Cross
Henry Miers
John Davis
James McCurry
Ezekiel Carter
Daniel Kellar
John McMacken
John Linebough
Harris H. Hutchison
George Moyers
William Houston
Reuben Allen
Felix Earnest
Joseph Wright
John Glass Junr
David Adams
James Pearce
William Wilson
Philip Brewer
Peyton Randolph
James Guin
Solomon Edmondson
Abraham Williams
Isaac Doty
Capt John Stanfield
William McBride
John Coulson

Daniel Walker
David Huffstadler
James Gass
Philip Howel
Moses Moore
Even Evens Senr
John Jones
Abraham Carter Senr
James Houston
Edmund Strange
Jesse Wright
Solomon Bailes
Philip Brown
William McBroom
Henry Long
John Headrick
Adam Moyers
Robert Gamble
Thomas Thompson
Christian Dearstone
Philip Chance
Solomon Wilhoit
Alexander Russell
Thomas Perry
Thomas Harmon
Henry Farnsworth Sr
Shobal Ellis
John Kelsey Senr
Joseph Dugger
George Weems
William Moiers Junr
George Shields
Maurice Morriss
Edward Gray
Nicholas Long
Thomas Warren
Jesse Carter
Daniel Linebough
William Weems
Thomas Russell
William Miller
Stephen Brooks
William Headrick Senr
Edward Luster
Robert Farnsworth
Jacob Friese
Robert Johnston
Thomas Johnston
Alexander Kelsey
David Rice
Thomas Randolph
Isaac Davis

Josiah Temple
Jesse Willia
Joel Dryden
David Malick
William Greene
Alexander McAlpin
James Moore, Junr
William McGill
John Garvin
James Smith
Robert Carson
Evan Guin
Asahel Rawlings
Thomas Frazier
Samuel Frazier
William Wilson
Nathaniel Hall
Andrew Hall
Thomas Ripley
John Williams
Hezekiah Balch
Robert Maloney
Crafford Jones
John Ross
Robert Dobson
Samuel Craig
John Balch
William Pratt
Matthew Cox
William Hood
William McPheran
Ewen Allison
John Newman
John Guin
Moses Reeves
William Anderson
Randolph Guin
William Killgore
Benjamin Jameson
James Haworth
Samuel Ramsey
Andrew Gamble
William Ellis
James Temple
Samuel Davis
Henry Earnest
Giles Parman
Valentine Callihan
James Gibson
Reuben Biggs
Thomas Kennedy
Holden Shanks

John Bartley
John Moore
Thomas Lamb
John Bitner
Hugh Guin
John Henderson
Samuel Edmondson
Peter Dillon
David Parkins
John Temple
John Kerbough
Abraham Sherrill
Valentine Sevier
James J. Wilson
Thomas Alexander
John Bennett Junr
Jacob Bowman
John Reid
John Hall
William Bell
James Wright
William Likens
William Alexander
Robert Stuart
Thomas Southerland
Isaac Harmon
Joseph Gaston
Asahel Rawlings
James Jones
Leonard Ettleman
Robert Hall
James McPheran
Joseph Dobson
Isham Randolph
Robert Daniel
Jonathan Brown
Henry Shields
Henry Headrick
Samuel Y. Balch
John Shaw
James Kenney
John Stinson
Thomas McCollum
David Farnsworth
John Bowers
David Copeland
John Brown
William Hall Junr
Benjamin Neil
Robert Smith
William Crawford
Hezekiah W. Balch
Jacob Johnston
Samuel Henderson
Robert Samples
William Milburn
Harrison Johnston
Thomas Murray
John Hughes
Thomas Temple
William Hall Gent
James Galbreaith
Jesse Johnston
John Morriss
Benjamin McNutt
Samuel Sutton
Joseph Johnston
Thomas Davis Senr
John Neise
William Neil
Abraham Collet
Daniel Smith
Charles Smith
Lawrence Earnest
Thomas Denton
William Goforth
William Matthias
Isaac Brumley
Robert Wyly
Augustin P. Fore
Peter Castle
Robert Gray
Moses Johnston
Thomas Hunter
James Shields
Samuel Denwody
William Smith
James Dinwiddie
Robert Allen
Samuel Milligan
George Gordon
Griffith Rutherford
James Kelly
John Kifer
Eden Humbard
John Miers
David Keller
John Graham
Thomas Batt
Stephen Harmon
James Allen
Isaac Baker Senr
Joseph Kiser
George Brown
John Hunter
James Loyd
George Burkheart
Evan Jones Senr
Absalom Haworth
James Haworth
David Logan
George Harmon
Thomas Whennery
Frederick Shaffer
John Bennett Senr
Sperling Bowman Jr
Philip Babb
Dennis Harty
Joseph Finney
Samuel Ellis
William Dewoody
Samuel Vance
Ephraim Lane
Francis Johnston
Jacob White
Ezekiel Baldwin
Thomas Ellis
Thomas Humbert
Isaac Jones
Caleb Carter
John Stinson
Henry McBroom
Daniel Pierce
Thomas Shields Junr
William Alexander
Jacob Hennegar
Charles Lowrey
Joseph Lackland
Arthur Sloan
James Maloy
John Uttinger
David Key
Jacob Cook
James Jones
Isaac Carter
George Harrison
Benjamin Williams
Samuel Hannah
David Holt
Bloomer White
Abraham Haines
Henry Kellar
Robert Smiley
Philip Eaker
Benjamin Rose
Christian Dyke

Andrew Fox
Saymor Catching
James Matthias
John Wilson Senr
James Davis
Joseph Vanpelt
Hugh Neilson
Thomas Love
Alexander Brown
James Wilson
James Ramsey
Adam Smelser
William Ross
Benjamin McGeehon
Claudius Buster
Jacob Earnest
Thomas Oliphant
Jacob Hoyal
Richard Scruggs
Ezekiel Stanberry
Thomas Stanfield Junr
John Parks
William Parker
James White
James Bird
John Gamble
James Dillon
William Dillon
John Miller
A. Jones
Henry Conway
James Hampton
George Jameson
Stephen Cotter
Thomas Loyd
William Wall
George Ely
John Allison
Absalom Stonecypher
Thomas Wilson Junr
John Loyd
William Moore Sen
John Love
Henry French
John Jones Senr
John Pierce
Robert Smith
Thomas Gorrell
Philip Bible
Moses Gamble
Thomas Babb
Abel Loyd

George Pierce
Adam Fraiker
Leonard Symons
William Long
George Crosby
William Crosby
Simon Weston
George Brown
James Loyd
Derby Ragan
Peter Baker
Robertson Loyd
Philip Easterly
Anthony Kelly
James Kallewon
William McDonald
John Campbell
Henry Kelldea
John Cotter
Jacob Havely
George Hutchison
Joseph Henderson
Robert Henderson
Chrisley Harmon
Robert Campbell
William Rankin
Samuel Crawford
Jacob Teel
Nicholas Hays
Christopher Houts
James Moore
John Moore
Thomas Starnes
Bable Benson
Leonard Huff
Daniel McCoy
William Holloway
John Ragan
Jepthah Billingsley
John Oxen [?]
John Key
Isaac Johnson
Charles Lane
Robert Hays
Isariah Doty
Joseph Dunkin
Christian Fraiker
Joseph Allen
John Dodd
Christian Bible
Samuel Russell
William Wattson

William Black
Henry Thompson
David Allison
James Hays
Charles Coffin
Matthias Broyles
James Robertson
Ezekiel Howard
H. Smith
Vincent Jackson
Philip Harmon
Elijah McNew
John Glasscock
John Wilson
Anthony Moore
David Dugger
John Robertson
William Hankins
Thomas Jones
Joseph Kimmons
F. Burkheart
Frederick Reasor
Abraham Smith
Henry Yeakley
Christopher Baker
Benjamin Ishmael
William Davis
Daniel Alinger
John Crawford
Jacob Linebough
Thomas Davis
William Guin
William Kelly
John Ingram
Lewis Curington
Richard Pearce
Thomas Ishmael
Thomas Collier
Valentine Pauley
John Robertson
John Ledgerwood
John Feuston
Michael Fraiker
Isaiah McNees
Thomas Curton
John Fuston Junr
Philip Smith
Samuel Pickering
Elijah Coulson
David Frazier
William Dodd
William Johnston

Jacob Harmon
Richard Curton
Henry Cross
James Oliphant
John Bird
Jacob Paysinger
Charles Mayberry
Thomas Billingsley
George Conway
John Keller
Michael Dittimore
Garrett Dillen
John Newberry
Michael Freese
John Delaney
Samuel Caldwell
Andrew McFarlin
Thomas Johnston
Gabriel North
James Bailey
Henry Williams
John Ragan Junr
George Neilson
William Graham
James Glass
David Milburn
Christian Busley
Henry Bowman
William Cooley
Leonard Dell
John Simpson
Frederick Smith
John Long
John Blackburn
Barrott Holt
Daniel Bowman
George W. Woods
Martin Foster
Alexander Newberry
Nathaniel Patterson
Henry Dyke Senr
Maxwell Brown
George Gass
John Gibson
Frederick Fraiker
Jesse Mosley
James Reynolds
Andrew English
Thomas Justis
William Brown
Thomas McCollum
Thomas Caldwell

Joseph Hays
Zachariah Loveall
Stephen Bailes
Elijah Hurst
John Mismer
William Malone
John Collier
Samuel King
Major Temple
Thomas Self
William Tunnell
Jeremiah Dunkin
Thomas Walker
Christopher Laughiner
Patrick Powers
Solomon Stonecypher
John Baker
Richard Kerr
James Stinson
Frederick Souder
Cornelius Smith
John Smith
Henry Evens
William McNees
Henry Garrett
Rodger Browning
Christopher Cooper
Jonathan Davis
James Hays
Martin McBride
David Gray
H. Williams
William Finley
Isaac Walker
William Shields
Anthony Copeland
James Walker
James Bailes
John Ryan
Henry Morris
Francis Register
James Falls
Christian Hunsley
Henry Surbor
Absalom Templeton
Jacob Surbor
Adam Wilson
John Thornton
Peter Bitserburgy
John Rodgers, Jr.
Alexander Frasier
John Troy

Abner Gray
James Thompson
James Shields
James Scott
Samuel Rogers
James Campbell
Absalom Howath
James Anderson
John McCollum
Jesse Rush
Edward Gray
James Kelly
William Cox
John McAmis
William West
Timothy Hixson
Conrad Barnheart
John Malone
James Shelly
Shadrach McNew
Peter Casteel Junr
Aaron Newman
Barnet Crabtree
Walter Clark
John Fooshee
William Crumbley
David Rankin
Anthony Hoggatt
James Trim
John Carter Junr
William McNew
Daniel Coffman
Jonathan Milburn
Jacob Reesor
William Patterson
Alexander Williams
James Brown
John Bowers
James Rodgers, Senr
Owen Mycelf
Adam Kauble
Thomas McCullough
William McPheran
Stephen Tunnell
Josiah Clawson
Robert Foster
William Gibson
James McMurtry
James Hughes
Michael Myars
Daniel Small [? blurred]
John Kesterson

William Hopper
Samuel Hill
Robert Hutson
William Shannon
Nicholas Spring
Henry Hair
Alexander Dugger
Robert Rankin
John Fraiker
Robert Burns
William Wattson
John Thompson
Benjamin Parker
David Hutson
John Kirk, Senr
John Biggs
John Horton
James McAmis
David Carter
David Hays
Abraham Marshall
Jacob Bowman
Abraham Miller
Thomas Stanfield
John Whitehead
Hugh Carter
Samuel Stanfield
Thomas Wilson
Jacob Souder
Nathaniel Davis
Samuel Rhea
Absalom Gray
James Baxter
John Davis
Daniel Henderson
James Robinson
John McPheran
David Moore
Thomas Murphey
George Thompson
William Skyles
Harkins Davis
John Young
Alexander Armstrong
Jeremiah Smith
Thomas Donica
John Lackland
Philip Hale
Paulser Ruble
Michael Woods
Leonard Starnes
Joseph Carter

Robert Jameson
James Carson
Lewis Stults
Jacob Kyle
Christopher Bible
John Ellis
William Alexander, Sr
James Morrow
Stephen Woolsey
Thomas Alexander
William Woolsey
Claudius Bailey
Jeremiah Laney
William Hutson
Hugh Cavner
Abraham Hurst
Benjamin Farnsworth
Jacob Bird
John Wilson
Malachi Click
William Skiles
James Laird
John Oliphant
Andrew Dobbins
Thomas Stockdon
Robert Russell
Peter Earnest
Sperling Bowman
Andrew Huffman
Thomas McAmis
David Wilson
Julius Scruggs
James Rutlege
Jesse Linsey
Hugh Maloney
Thomas Hutson
Enoch Doty
Purnell Walker
Peter Bleak
John Bell
John Morrow
William Alexander
George Alexander
James Dinwiddie
John Bell Junr
James Wright
David Davis
David Robinson
Reese Prathar
William Hannah
David Copeland
James Copeland

George Rinker
Enos Rambough
Abner Frazier
Samuel McKemy
Claiborne Dugger
Abraham Fellows
John Kennedy
William Madcap
Joseph Weston
Daniel McKoy
John Casteel
Jeremiah Smith
Peter McCain
William McAmis
Robert Guin
Zebedee Dennis
William McGahee
Nathan Cooper
Conrad Kimes
Daniel Carter
John Rodgers
Thomas Blackburn
Thomas G. Brown
David Sample
Daniel Bordon
William Chandley
Thomas Peel
George Graham
Robert Wilson
William Dickson
John Maloney
Joseph Todhunter
John Maclin
Daniel Jackson
James Davis
David Paulsell
Frederick Trobough
Stephen Alexander
John McGeehon
George Alexander
David Allison
James McAmis
James Luckey
Nathaniel Hood
Nathan Carter
Anderson Walker
Michael Kauble
William Davis
John Litler
William Temple
Isaac Crump
Eathern Burgey

Benjamin Stuart
Daniel Armstrong
John Ramsey
John Lescollect
James Guthrie
William Bratcher
John Gragg
Isaac Armitage
Joseph Hixson
Ephraim Skiles
David Wilson
John Dobson
John Richmond
Seth Babb
John Hull
Jacob Linginfelter
William Britten
Jonathan Evens
James Newberry
Gravener Marsh
Stephen Alexander
James Moore
Daniel Kerby
William Hixson
James Steel
David Copeland
Alexander Wilson
Levi Carter
Christopher Lotspeich
John Lotspeich

James Witherspoon
Martin Click
Ellet Rutherford
William Bratcher
Britain Cross
Loveal Coffman
Lewis Gulley
John Guthry
Lewis Gulley
John Gentry
Lazarus Gulley
Phillamore Green
John Keel
John McConnal
John Rawlings
William Chapman
Robert Bell
Elijah Balch
John Keel Jun
James Keel
William Keel
John Long
Anny Martin
Joseph McCullough
Levi Moore
James Moore
Zadok Moore
Joseph Holt
Michael Burgar
Adam Starnes

Isaac McAmis
James Reece
William McCullough
William McCullough
Samuel McCullough
Jonathan Moreland
Gabriel Philips
Lewis Rue
William Smith
John Walker
James Walker
James Dugger
William Reece
Thomas Hurny [?]
Margaret Purdom
Mary Mismer
Thomas Wyatt
Solomon Wyatt
Nathan White
William White
Thomas White
Samuel White
Rachel Anderson
James Patterson Senr
James Patterson
Margaret McGehon
Ann Armstrong
Elizabeth Reves
Mary Brumley
Margaret McElroy

Total number 996

[Endorsed]

Enumeration from Greene County 1805

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

(The "Writings on Tennessee History, 1960," is omitted from this issue. The "Writings" for that year will be combined with those for 1961 and will appear in *Publications* No. 34.)

History of Tennessee. By Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell. Four volumes. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960. Pp. xviii, 539, 486, 954. Maps, illustrations, indexes. $85.00.)

"Like various other Southern states, Tennessee has been periodically the subject of multivolumed works of history and contemporary biography. Will T. Hale and Dixon H. Merritt published eight volumes in 1913; John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster brought out four volumes in 1923; and Philip M. Hamer followed with four volumes in 1933. This handsomely bound, attractively printed, profusely illustrated (and expensive) set by Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, consisting of two volumes of history and two of biography and family history, is in many respects an improvement upon the earlier works of similar character and also serves to bring the state's history up to date chronologically. Roughly speaking, Professor Folmsbee was responsible for the period ending about 1820; Professor Corlew covered the remainder of the nineteenth century; and Professor Mitchell dealt with the twentieth century up to and including the gubernatorial election of 1958. The authors are silent as to who was responsible for the two biographical volumes, the greater portion of which relates to persons little known outside of their own communities; but it is evident that these volumes were the work of other editors and were compiled to facilitate sales and thus help to bear the cost of publication." (From review in *Journal of Southern History,* August, 1961.)

The Attitude of Tennesseans Toward the Union. 1847-1861. By Mary Emily Robertson Campbell. (New York: Vantage Press, 1961. Pp. 308. Notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"When, in April 1861, the United States became involved in the Civil War, Tennessee, a border slave state, was faced with a crucial choice; whether to aid in the coercion of her sister states of the South . . . or to revolt against the Union.

"In this crisis, the divergent political, social, and economic interests of East Tennessee on the one hand and of Middle and West Tennessee on the other created a situation that could have erupted into a miniature civil war within the borders of the state itself.

"In this highly informative and scholarly work, Dr. Campbell reveals the attitude of the people of Tennessee toward the Union during the fifteen-year period of sectional strife between the North and the South immediately preceding the Civil War, or the War Between the States. She describes the roles of leading political figures as they maneuvered for and exercised national and state power." (Jacket.)

Samuel Roberts: A Welsh Colonizer in Civil War Tennessee. By Wilbur S. Shepperson. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1961. Pp. xi, 169. Illustrations, map, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

"A widely-known leader and crusader, Roberts determined not only to migrate, but also to provide the medium whereby hundreds of his countrymen could forsake English landlords and Anglican clergymen for a freehold in Tennessee. To Roberts' chagrin, relatively few Welshmen accepted his offer. Most of those who did accompany him to America bought fertile farms in Ohio rather than in the Cumberland Mountains.

"At the remote Welsh station of Brynyffynon [Scott County], Tennessee, the small colony faced hardships of settlement plus even thornier problems presented by greedy land speculators, estates encumbered by squatter claims, and hopelessly overlapping land titles. While yet deeply enmeshed in these problems, the colony was engulfed by the Civil War. The war led Roberts into issues with which he was to wrestle for the remainder of his life." (Jacket.)

Nashville: Its Life and Times. By Jesse C. Burt. With a Foreword by Robert T. Quarles. (Nashville: Tennessee Book Co., 1959. Pp. xv, 182. Illustrations, quick reference section, a general chronology, notes and references, bibliographical essay, name index. $1.95.)

"The cultured and mellowed city of Nashville has a story of much charm and significance. Here is a general account of that story, not proposed as monographic nor definitive history, telling about life and times as they have developed in Nashville and in its vicinity . . . . I am writing here for the general, interested reader, who takes the American heritage seriously, who might want to know more about a most interesting place, and who may want to go on and do his own independent studies, out of interest. By and large, I have felt committed to those developments which have had large impact, and whose outlines and character may be definitely studied." (Introduction.)

The Gibson County Story. By Conrad Frederick Smith. (Trenton, Tenn.: The Herald Register Press, 1960. Pp. vii, 121. Illustrations on cover. $2.75.)

"Intermixed with factual happenings are imaginary accounts of incidents that could very well have happened and of imaginary persons who typify those who have lived here.

"This record of the county's history is by no means complete. It was not intended to be so. But the various episodes do illustrate some of the important stages of its growth from a wilderness civilization to its importance today, the nature and spirit of its people, and their laughter and tears through the years." (Author's Preface.)

Tennessee Establishes a State University: First Years of the University of Tennessee, 1879-1887. By Stanley J. Folmsbee. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, The University of Tennessee *Record,* Vol. 64, No. 3, May, 1961. Pp. vi, 214. Illustrations, footnotes, index. Free on request.)

This study is published as a part of the observance by the University of Tennessee, which is a land-grant institution, of the centennial of the passage of the Morrill Act by Congress in 1862. It continues the same author's studies previously published in the *Record: Blount College and East Tennessee College, 1794-1840* (1946) and *East Tennessee University, 1840-1879* (1959).

The chapter titles are: I, Acquiring the Name of the State; II, Attempting to Fulfill New Obligations; III, The Graduate Program, the "Colored" Question, and the Summer Normal; IV, Recurring Financial Crises, 1879-1883; V, The Deposing of President Humes; VI, The Interregnum, 1883-1887; VII, The Search for a President; VIII, The Brief "Administration" of President-elect

McBryde; IX, Dawn of a New Era: The Election of President Dabney; X, Campus Life, 1879-1887.

One of the illustrations is a section of a panoramic photograph (1886) showing the University buildings.

Campaigns and Battles of the Sixteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers. By Thomas A. Head. *A Facsimile Reprint of the 1865 Edition with an Introduction by Stanley F. Horn.* (McMinnville: Womack Printing Co., 1961. Pp. 488. Illustrations. $5.00.)

"One of the most noteworthy developments in connection with the current observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the War Between the States has been the marked revival of interest in the books of reminiscences written by those who took part in that war. Some of these books were written with considerable literary skill; some were the simple and unadorned production of some veteran who wanted to establish a printed record of the part taken by him and his outfit in the great conflict. All possessed the great virtue of presenting the first-hand observations of active participants. . . .

"This book, written and published in 1885 by Mr. Thomas A. Head, bears the comprehensive and descriptive title: 'Campaigns and Battles of the Sixteenth Regiment Tennessee Volunteers in the War Between the States, With Incidental Sketches of the Part Performed by Other Tennessee Troops in the Same War, 1861-1865.' Mr. Head was himself a veteran of the Sixteenth Tennessee, which was one of the regiments from this state which saw service for the duration of the war and which brought added luster to the fame of the 'Volunteer State.'" (Introduction.)

Monkey Trial: The State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes. Houghton Mifflin Research Series, No. 4. Edited by Sheldon Norman Grebstein. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960. Pp. xiii, 221. $1.75.)

"The case of *The State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes,* tried in Dayton, Tennessee, in July of 1925, and better known as the "Monkey Trial," was from beginning to end strange and even 'bizarre,' as a Tennessee Supreme Court Justice later called it—and stranger still when we realize that it need never have happened. The Tennessee legislature had only a few months before passed a bill prohibiting the teaching of evolution in the public schools, and Governor Austin Peay had signed the measure into law with a statement that strongly implied he neither hoped nor expected that the statute would ever be enforced. In other words, anti-evolution law or not, Tennessee's teachers would have had little or no interference in their work, even though many of their textbooks, like the state-adopted biology text Scopes taught from at the Dayton High School, promulgated the Darwinian theory. But forces and personalities were present that retrieved the anti-evolution law from the oblivion it would certainly have found by itself, and made it the center of one of the most sensational and significant American trials of the century." (Preface.)

Red Clay and Rattlesnake Springs: A History of the Cherokee Indians of Bradley County, Tennessee. By James Franklin Corn. (Cleveland, Tenn.: The author, 1959. Pp. xi, 108. Illustrations, map, footnotes.)

"The Final Act of one of the great tragedies of early American History was played out in the land which was later to become Bradley County, Tennessee, when the eastern Cherokees were torn from their homes in 1838 and forcibly removed to lands west of the Mississippi River by troops of the United States acting under orders growing out of one of the many compacts referred to by the great Indian historian, Grant Foreman, as 'so-called treaties made with little comprehending Indians,' and known as the treaty of 1835.

"The last Council Ground of the Eastern Cherokees was Red Clay, and the final assembly of the Cherokees preparatory to the march west was Rattlesnake Springs, both in Bradley County; hence the title of this book, which is built around the names and places in Bradley County so familiar to the Cherokees of the time." (Preface.)

Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee. Prepared by the Civil War Centennial Commission. (Nashville: Division of Information, Department of Conservation, 1960. Pp. 32. Illustrations, map.)

This work includes a brief history of the war in Tennessee, a chronological synopsis of events, and a map showing training camps and strategic areas used by the Confederacy.

Lest We Forget: First Baptist Church, Greeneville, Tenn., 1871-1960. By A. C. Duggins. (Kingsport: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1960. Pp. xiv, 372. Illustrations, index.)

"It is for the purpose of recognizing these faithful ones who serve year after year without stint and without recognition that this History of the First Baptist Church, Greeneville, Tennessee, is written. And it is to the glory of the small-town church that serves so many of the Baptists for the first and last moments of their lives. It is these little churches dotted over the land that give the strength to the Baptist faith. . . . (Preface.)

Tennessee Studies in Literature, Vol. VI. Edited by Alwin Thaler and Richard Beale Davis. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1961. Pp. 126.)

This volume contains two items which have some relationship to Tennessee history. One is "Bryant Cautions and Counsels Lincoln," by Vice President Herman E. Spivey of the University of Tennessee, which includes a few references by William Cullen Bryant to the significance of Tennessee in the Civil War. The other is "Mary Murfree's Battle," by R. Baird Shuman, an edition of a previously unpublished letter by May Noailles Murfree, the Tennessee novelist who wrote under the pseudonym, Charles Egbert Craddock.

A Time to Stand. By Walter Lord. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. Pp. 256. Illustrations, maps, acknowledgments, sources, index. $4.95.)

On the Jacket this work has as a sub-title, "The Epic of the Alamo Seen as a Great National Experience." Quoting further:

"In this brilliant book Walter Lord rediscovers and re-creates the whole fascinating story. From contemporary documents, diaries and letters he has mined a wealth of fresh information, and for the first time this great American epic is seen in its true setting.

"For the Alamo is a story not just of Texas, but of the whole nation—an earlier nation of blacksmiths, steamboats, restlessness and ideals. It was a zestful, youthful country captivated by the idea of 'freeing' Texas . . . and attracted by the rich land that awaited the liberators. All kinds heard the call. . . .

"You will be in for surprises. New evidence throws intriguing sidelights on the story. What were the defenders really like? Why did they take their stand? Did any escape? Did Davey Crockett surrender?

"You will explore the riddles and fight the battle, and when the end comes —and word of it flames across the country—you too will feel the electric excitement that gripped the nation. Unlike many of history's heroes, the men in the Alamo did not have to wait for immortality; they got it right away. (Jacket.)

Legends and Lore: Southern Indians, Flowers, Holidays. Compiled by David James Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Newsletter,* Vol. XL, No. 2, April, 1961. 30 p.)

Among the legends of Southern Indians are several involving Tennessee Indians, including the Legend of Reelfoot Lake. The holidays include St. Valentine's Day, St. Patrick's Day, Easter, and Christmas. One of the flower legends deals with the rhododendron of Roan Mountain.

Heroines of the American Revolution. By David James Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Newsletter*, Vol. XL, No. 1, February, 1961. 16 p.)

Among the heroines are Sarah Hawkins Sevier and Catherine Sherrill Sevier, as well as others involved in the Revolution in the South, of interest to Tennesseans.

Tennessee: Football's Greatest Dynasty. By Tom Siler. With a Foreword by A. D. "Andy" Holt. (Knoxville: The Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1961. Pp. iv, 92. Illustrations. $1.50.)

"The story of Tennessee football, 1926-1961, during which period the Orange Volunteers won more games than any other school in major college football.

"The story of Tennessee football encompasses the coaching career of the incomparable Bob Neyland, the style of play he developed, the scores of coaches he developed, and the tremendous impact Neyland had on college football." (Title-page.)

The chapters are entitled: The Winning Way; Neyland—Athlete, Soldier, Coach; Harvey Robinson—The Quiet One; Bowden Wyatt—New Era; Gene McEver—Super Star; Twelve Greatest Games; Neyland's Football Family; The Story Hour—A Laugh and A Tear; The Record Speaks For Itself.

Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933. By Theodore Saloutos. University of California *Publications in History*, Vol. 64. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. xi, 354. Notes, bibliography, index. $6.50.)

"The beginning and terminal dates of this proposed study were also to be 1900 and 1939. But the more I probed into the history of the Southern movements, the more convinced I became that both dates were unsatisfactory. The endless references to the pre- and post-Civil War years, the Negroes, the share-cropping, and the crop-lien system left me no choice but to begin with the Reconstruction period. The terminal date of 1933 was prompted by the fact that the philosophic and psychological ties between the South and the farm policy-makers had been clearly delineated by this time; and also by a realization that the South, after the First World War, had a less complicated history of organized unrest—hence a less diversified farmer movement than the Middle West." (Preface.)

Early Maps of the Ohio Valley: A Selection of Maps, Plans, and Views made by Indians and Colonials from 1673 to 1783. By Lloyd Arnold Brown. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. Pp. xvi, 132. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. $12.00.)

"This book is primarily a picture book containing a brief review and summary of the cartographic record left by the men who first explored and mapped the region of the Ohio. So far as the writer has been able to determine, there is no part of this story, no facet, that has not been explored and reported at great length by capable historians. The subject is so broad and such an important part

of American history that it has fascinated and inspired some of the best chroniclers to devote the better part of their careers delving into it. This volume adds nothing new to the literature, and no attempt has been made to evaluate the merits and faults of the historical works which have dealt with the numerous controversial issues involved in this complex story. Such an attempt would have made the book too long and too discursive." (Foreword.)

From Shiloh to San Juan: The Life of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler. By John P. Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. Pp. xi, 275. Illustrations, maps, critical essay on authorities, index. $5.00.)

"Here is the definitive biography of the 'gamest banty' of the Confederate Army, 'Fightin' Joe' Wheeler, Chief of Cavalry in the Army of Tennessee.

"The tiny (five-foot-five, 120 pounds) Wheeler rose to the rank of Major General in the Confederate Army at the tender age of twenty-six, and was the only Confederate corps commander to later hold a similar position in the army of the United States.

"One of the most colorful of the Confederate cavalry leaders, Wheeler was also one of the most effective. He had an almost fanatical belief in the sanctity of orders (unique in itself among Southern cavalry commanders), and the commanding general always knew where he was and what he was doing." (Jacket.)

Mississippi in the Confederacy: As They Saw It. Edited by John K. Bettersworth; *As Seen in Retrospect.* Edited by James W. Silver. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, for The Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1961. Pp. xxxii, 362; xx, 319. Illustrations, map. $10.00 for set, or $5.95 each.)

The first volume "presents a moving drama of what the people of King Cotton's chief domain felt about the war, what they saw, what they thought in the thick of the struggle." The second volume "is made up of the postwar reminiscences of many persons who took part in these battles . . . and of accounts by later writers about Mississippi during the war." (Jackets.)

The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. Pp. xi, 180. Illustrations, Map on end papers, notes, appendices, essay on authorities, index. $4.50.)

"How large a part did Jean Lafitte and his pirates play in this important battle of the War of 1812? Most historians have seen their role as an insignificant one, although several semi-fictional accounts have indicated that the battle would have been lost without the Baratarians.

"In this case, asserts Jane Lucas de Grummond, the 'fictional' accounts are closer to the truth than the history books.

"Mrs. De Grummond claims that the pirates played a key role in the battle not only by supplying badly needed ammunition but also by furnishing and manning the cannon which turned the battle in favor of the Americans. The Baratarians, she writes, have not received the credit due them because the regulars who prepared the official reports for the War and Navy departments did not see fit to mention that they had been aided by pirates." (Jacket.)

Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution. By North Callahan. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Pp. xi, 342. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, acknowledgments, index. $5.00.)

"No man was more at home in the far reaches of the early American frontier than Daniel Morgan. His was a character molded by the elemental western wilderness, and by the time he had reached the rugged prime of life, he was perfectly attuned to frontier ways. The story of his life is the story of an era as important in our national history as it is exciting." (Foreword.)

Some Tennesseans or future Tennesseans participated in Morgan's military campaigns.

Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, embracing for the most part the Primitive and Colonial History of the Territory Comprising the Original County of Spartanburg with a General Review of the Entire Military Operations in the Upper Portion of South Carolina and Portions of North Carolina. By Dr. J. B. O. Landrum. (Greenville, S. C.: Shannon and Co., 1897; reprinted, Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Co., [1958]. Pp. xi, 364. Frontispiece, maps, $5.50.)

The reprinting of this scarce work is a significant contribution to Tennessee as well as Carolina history as it includes detailed accounts of the Battle of King's Mountain and other engagements of the Revolutionary War in which Tennesseans participated.

Ramsay's History of South Carolina from its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808. By W. J. Duffie, 1858; reprinted, Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Co., 1959. Pp. viii, 274. $8.00.)

This work was originally dedicated by the author to "the Youth of Carolina, whose ancestors, collected from various nations of the Old World, have coalesced into one in the New, and who after two revolutions, in less than one century, have acquired liberty and independence. . . ."

The reprinting of this scarce work is a distinct contribution.

Ferry Hill Plantation Journal, January 4, 1838-January 15, 1839. Volume 43 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Fletcher M. Green. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Pp. xxv, 139. Frontispiece, index.)

"It was my good fortune as editor of Henry Kyd Douglass, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), to find in the attic at Ferry Hill Plantation a bound volume of a journal of that plantation kept by the then owner, John Blackford, for the year January 4, 1838, to January 15, 1839. This plantation, located on the Maryland side of the Potomac River across from Shepherdstown, Virginia (now West Virginia), had characteristics of both the plantation and the farm as defined by Phillips. The regular labor force was slave but the plantation produced no special major staple crop. Instead it grew grain of various kinds, hay, fruits, potatoes, livestock and timber for sale as well as home consumption." (Preface.)

Descendants of Hiram and Mariah Wilson of Marshall County, Tennessee. By Othella Boyd Smith. (Nashville: The author, 1961. Pp. 91. Illustrations.)

"This work is not meant to be extensive, nor is it complete. I only desire that the lineage of my mother, Tempa Theodosia Cavnar Boyd, may be carefully preserved for the long line of men and women who will continue to descend from her; that the identity of her foreparents and all their descendants may not be swallowed up by the flood of years." (Preface.)

The Vandeveers of North Carolina, Kentucky and Indiana. By Mabel Van Dyke Baer. (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1960. Pp. xi, 180. Coat of arms, index.)

"Numerous Van der Veer records, both public and private, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, have been examined and analyzed in a serious attempt to trace the movements of members of this family, with particular emphasis to establish a connection with the family of John Vandeveer, Sr., of North Carolina, who is the subject of this work." (Foreword.)

The Zachary-Zachry Family. Compiled by Reuben J. Bates. (Franklin, Ill.: The author, 1960. Pp. 119. Coat of arms, index. $3.00.)

"The material for this booklet has been collected over a period of years. Many have shared in the task of collecting data, for which I am very grateful. In the beginning, it was believed that there were few people, by the name of Zachary in U. S., since the name is not a common one. My aim was to merely gather data on my great-grandfather, James A. Zachary's family. In a short time, I discovered that his family were not the only Zacharys in Tennessee, so I attempted to go back one generation more." (Compiler's note.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1960

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Early Musical Activities in Knoxville," by Miss Katherine Crews, Assistant Professor of Music at Maryville College.

FEBRUARY. "Cherokee Indian Medicine and Medicine Men," by Edwin J. Best, Budget Analyst for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

MARCH. The scheduled speaker, J. Leonard Raulston, of South Pittsburg, was unable to be present due to inclement weather.

APRIL. "One Hundred and Fifty Years of Public Health in the Knoxville Area," by Miss Mary Louise Ogden, Librarian of the Knoxville Academy of Medicine.

At this meeting of the Society, in accordance with an amendment of the constitution adopted in December, 1959, the election of officers was held. The following officers were re-elected for the year 1960-1961: president, James Burn, Niota; vice-presidents: for the Knoxville area, Mrs. Henry R. Duncan; for Upper East Tennessee, W. Flinn Rogers, Johnson City; for Lower East Tennessee, Z. Cartter Patten, Chattanooga; secretary, Miss Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer, R. C. d'Armand, Knoxville; members of the executive committee: Paul Kelley, Mrs. Park Niceley, Mary U. Rothrock, and Marshall A. Wilson, all of Knoxville, and L. R. Ahern, of Kingsport. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, The University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications;* and Edwin J. Best, Maryville, was elected editor of *Echoes.* W. Neil Franklin, The National Archives, and Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

MAY. The Society held a joint meeting with the Chattanooga Area Historical Association in Chattanooga on May 7. A feature of the meeting was a boat trip down the Tennessee River, during which various members of the Chattanooga association described the historical importance of that portion of the Tennessee River.

JUNE. The Society sponsored an informal tour of the Tellico Plains area of the Cherokee National Forest, June 19, with the focal point being "The Mansion" on Tellico River, built in 1846 and now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Z. Cartter Patten, who were gracious hosts.

OCTOBER. "History for the Common Man: Ramsey and Draper vs. Bancroft," by William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin. The meeting, held at the Ossoli Club House, was followed by an informal reception.

NOVEMBER. "Early Baptists in Knoxville," by Cecil B. Egerton, of Carson-Newman College.

DECEMBER. "An Olympian View of Sequatchie Valley," by J. Leonard Raulston, of South Pittsburg.

At this meeting it was announced that the Society had been granted an award of merit by the American Association for State and Local History "for a distinguished publication program of many years standing and for various other

efforts to stimulate interest in the history of the state." The award would be presented at the January, 1961, meeting.

Other News

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's annual *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1960 to Willard Hays for the second installment of his "Andrew Johnson's Reputation." The judges were Professors J. Isaac Copeland, George Peabody College for Teachers, John S. Ezell, University of Oklahoma, and Louis R. Harlan, University of Cincinnati.

At the annual dinner of the Tennessee Historical Society, in May, Professor J. Milton Henry, Austin Peay State College, was presented with the first John Trotwood Moore and Mary Daniel Moore Award by that Society for his article, "The Revolution in Tennessee, February 1861 to June 1861," in Volume XVIII of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly.*

The McMinn County Chapter of the East Tennessee Historical Society adopted as a project the copying by Mrs. S. B. Boyer of the federal population census of McMinn County for 1850, to be published by the Clinchdale Press, Knoxville. Under the chairmanship of Miss Emma Sue Williams, the chapter also is engaged in microfilming early records of McMinn County.

In cooperation with the Boy Scouts of America the East Tennessee Historical Society planned the establishment of the East Tennessee Heritage Award to be given to Boy Scouts for studying Tennessee history and visiting historic shrines. The Award is to be symbolized by a patch to be worn on the uniform. The Society established a revolving fund for the purchase of patches and promotional material.

At a meeting of the Chattanooga Area Historical Association, February 12, Le Grande Kelly was elected president, Summerfield Johnston, Lee Anderson, and Bradley Curry, vice-presidents, Mrs. Blackwell Smith, secretary, and Cartter Patten, treasurer.

The fifth annual banquet of the Polk County Historical Society was held on May 7. The Reverend John C. Williamson delivered an address on "Early Missionary Activities Among the Cherokees."

At one of the sessions of the fifty-third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, April 28-30, Gerald M. Capers, Newcomb College, Tulane University, read a paper on "Memphis." The subject of the session was "River Town Politics."

At the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 10-12, the presidential address of William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin, "Four American Traditions," used Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, the Tennessee historian, as a representative of the squire tradition. Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee and editor of East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications,* presided over a session on "Southern Educational History." Enoch L. Mitchell, Memphis State University, presided over a session on "Graduate Training in History." Among the papers of special interest to Tennesseans were: "The Cherokees and Virginia Indian Policy," by W. Stitt Robinson, University of Kansas; "The Influence of George Peabody on Southern Educational Philanthropy," by Franklin Parker, University of Texas; "Braxton Bragg at Shiloh," by Grady McWhiney, Northwestern University; "Union Army Activities in the Mississippi Valley," by Margaret M. Bigelow, Mississippi Col-

lege; and "Hull, Wilson, and Fiscal Policies," by Cooper Milner, Wisconsin State College.

At a meeting of the Fort Loudoun Association, April 11, Arthur Fowler of Loudon was elected president and Mrs. G. H. Traylor of Maryville, vice-president. Paul Kelley and George K. Preston, both of Knoxville, were re-elected secretary and treasurer, respectively.

Considerable progress was made by the Blount Mansion Association in the restoration of the separate kitchen of the William Blount home in Knoxville. In conjunction with the restoration of the separate office building, restored several years ago, this new construction was designed to make the appearance of the home as nearly as possible what it was when the Blounts lived there.

The kitchen of the Ramsey House, "Swan Pond," administered by the Knox County chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, was restored and plans developed for the duplication of Francis Alexander Ramsey's kitchen garden, in cooperation with the Town and Country Garden Club of Knoxville.

A beginning was made by the Rocky Mount Association in the restoration of "Rocky Mount," the home of William Cobb, which Governor William Blount used as his headquarters, and therefore as the capital of the Southwest Territory, before he moved to Knoxville in 1792.

The Sugarlands Visitor Center, an information center and museum for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park near Gatlinburg, was dedicated on October 23.

Traveler's Rest, the restored law office of John Overton, near Nashville, was dedicated October 9, with George F. McCanless, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, as the main speaker. The office was restored by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in Tennessee with the aid of the Tennessee Historical Commission.

Through the cooperation of the East Tennessee Historical Society, the Knox County History Committee, and the Tennessee Historical Commission, several highway markers were erected to mark places of note in connection with the East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville during the Civil War. The Fort Loudoun Association and the Sam Houston Schoolhouse Association also marked the ways to those sites.

The National Park Service announced a plan to register historic landmarks of national significance and interest. For the theme, "Advancing the Frontier, 1763-1830," it certified the Long Island of the Holston, the Meriwether Lewis National Monument, and the Natchez Trace Parkway.

The American Association for State and Local History, in addition to granting the award of merit to the East Tennessee Historical Society, mentioned above, gave similar awards to Stanley F. Horn of Nashville, for his scholarly writings and work with the Tennessee Historical Society and other historical organizations, and to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, for its pioneering effort in obtaining on microfilm every available issue of every Tennessee newspaper ever published. Special mention was made of James E. Pike, under whose direction the program was carried out.

The McClung Historical Collection was moved to new quarters in the Lawson McGhee Library to the room formerly used as an auditorium. An open house was held on October 2. The move more than doubled the space formerly available and involved also the acquisition of additional equipment.

The Tennessee State Library and Archives acquired on microfilm from the National Archives the combined service records of Confederate soldiers who served in organizations from the state of Tennessee.

Among the manuscripts acquired by the University of Tennessee Library in 1960 were the papers (1831-1960), of Miss William Allen Dromgoole, noted Tennessee writer; and the notes, etc., of St. George L. Sioussat (1878-1960), collected in preparation for a definitive biography of Andrew Johnson. These were in addition to the microfilms and facsimilies of Andrew Johnson papers continuously being acquired by the Andrew Johnson project of Professors L. P. Graf and R. W. Haskins.

On February 26 a Knox County Centennial Committee was organized, with Arthur Ryan, of the University of Tennessee, being elected chairman.

The first meeting of the East Tennessee Civil War Round Table was held October 21 at the University of Tennessee Student Center. Gilbert E. Govan of th University of Chattanooga Library delivered an address, "East Tennessee and the Civil War." The organization planned monthly meetings except during the summer.

The University of Chattanooga sponsored its second Civil War Centennial Symposium, October 28-29. It opened with a panel on the topic "Tennessee in 1860," presided over by Cartter Patten, of Chattanooga, at which Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely of Newport, Robert H. White of Nashville, and James W. Livingood of the University of Chattanooga spoke. Other addresses during the symposium were: "Disruption of the Union: From the Election to Fort Sumter," by E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, retired; "The Crisis and the Country Editor," by Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; and "The Election of 1860," by William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin.

The eighth annual J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State University were delivered by Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, October 23-25. They dealt with "The American Presidency: Twentieth Century."

The Society greatly regrets the passing in 1960 of three members or former members who were outstanding in the field of history.

Dr. James Dickason Hoskins, President-emeritus of the University of Tennessee, died April 3, 1960, at the age of 90. He was a charter member and first president of the East Tennessee Historical Society and for many years professor of history and dean at the University of Tennessee, before serving as its president, 1933-1946.

Dr. Robert Lee Kincaid, President-emeritus of Lincoln Memorial University and author of *The Wilderness Road,* died May 2, at the age of 67. He was a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission and held offices in many historically related organizations. More than anyone else, he was instrumental in the establishment of the Cumberland Gap National Park.

Dr. Isaac Patton Martin, dean of East Tennessee Methodism, died March 9, at the age of 92. An active minister for fifty-one years, he was historian of the Holston Conference and author of *Holston Methodism,* of a history of the Church Street Methodist Church of Knoxville, and a biography of Elijah Embree Hoss.

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

William B. Hesseltine is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, president of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and past president of the Southern Historical Association. He is the author of a biography of Lyman Copeland Draper and the editor of *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters.*

Louis De Vorsey, Jr., is assistant professor of geography, East Carolina College, Greenville, North Carolina.

Robert S. Lambert is professor of history and government, Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina.

Ralph W. Haskins is associate professor of history at the University of Tennessee and co-editor of the Andrew Johnson Project—the collecting and editing for publication of the papers of Andrew Johnson.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

James R. Montgomery is director of institutional research, The University of Tennessee.

Pollyanna Creekmore is librarian of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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